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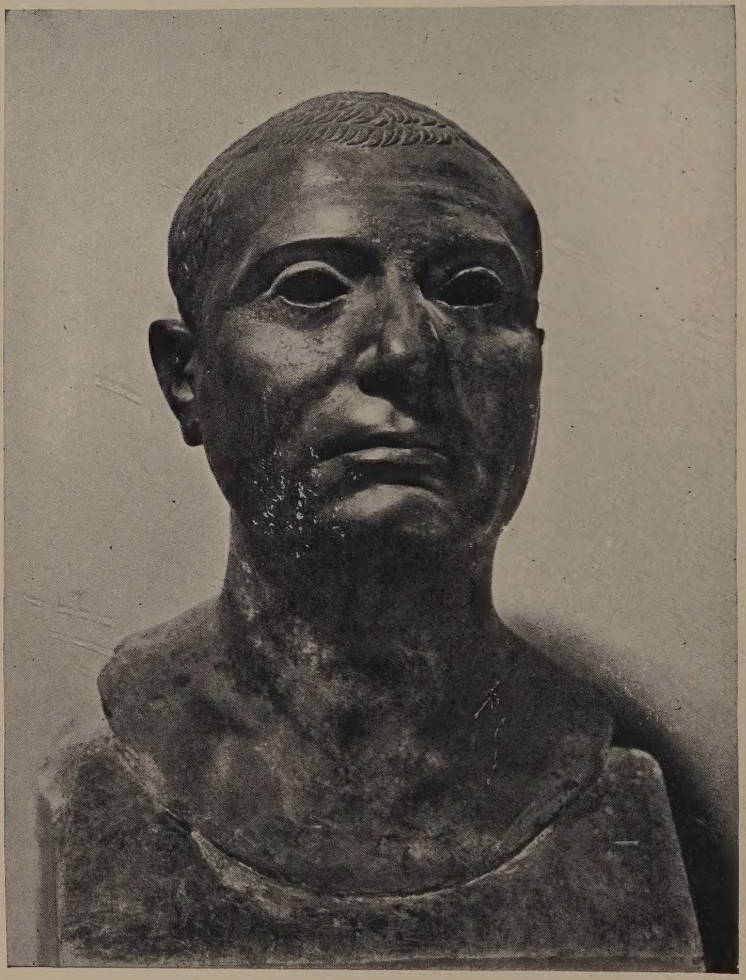
ART IN ANCIENT ROME



THE ACTOR, C. NORBANUS SORIX (TIME OF SULLA).
(Bronze Head, Naples).

ARS UNA: SPECIES MILLE

GENERAL HISTORY OF ART

ART IN ANCIENT ROME

BY

EUGÉNIE STRONG

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VOLUME I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRINCIPATE OF NERO

NEW YORK

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PREFACE

Books dealing with special aspects of the art of ancient Rome can now be counted by the score. But there is still a lack, it seems to me, of some work affording a connected account of what is known of the subject as a whole. The material collected is immense, but it needs further co-ordination.

These two volumes of the "Ars Una" series represent a first modest endeavour in this direction. My effort has been to bring together, as much as possible in their chronological order, the main facts relative to the art of Rome and the Empire. The subject is still beset with innumerable difficulties and uncertainties, but in a book intended for students and for the cultivated public who, without being specialists, take an ever livelier interest in Rome, I have thought it wiser to avoid the thorny paths of controversy. Where it seemed imperative to take note of conflicting opinions, the comments are of the briefest. My aim throughout has been to show, as clearly as in me lay, that the diverse phases of Roman art correspond to as many phases in the spiritual and political life of the Roman people.

The ground traversed may seem too vast, but it is no longer possible, as once, to identify the art of Rome with that of the Empire, or to rest content with an introduction of a few pages on the question of early influences, whether Greek or Etruscan. In order to understand the later developments of art in Rome, it is necessary first to know something of the art of primitive Italy, when Rome was only one—and by no means the greatest—of the Italic cities. In order fully to appreciate Rome's eventual contribution to the art of the West, we need to understand how upon the old Latin stock were grafted shoots brought in turn from Etruria, from Greece, from the great Hellenistic cities of Asia and of Africa. And if these foreign growths threatened at times, as towards the end of the Republic, to absorb the vital sap of the original tree, yet the Roman type recovered itself under the Empire and gradually reached its full and independent development. Augustus began the miracle by forcing all the arts, including literature, to be faithful interpreters of the Imperial idea. But Augustus only effected a transition. The art of his principate can no longer be looked upon as reproducing in their entirety the essential qualities of Roman art.

Augustan art is strongly tinged with a naturalism which was elaborated to its perfection under the Flavians. But after the Flavians this naturalism declined and died, and gave place to the severe realism of Trajanic art. Then, after endless transformations and experiments under the Antonines, art acquired by degrees that stern majesty which already marks several works of the period of the Severi, attains to full efflorescence under Constantine, and, fortunately for the art of primitive Christianity and that of mediæval Europe, continued as a living force long after his principate.

The indestructibility of the Roman type is patent throughout the story. As it had resisted Hellenistic influences under the Republic, so under the Empire it was proof against the strong Oriental currents which, it is often asserted, threatened its very existence. But these currents simply brought with them new seeds of life and thus averted the sterility which inevitably overtakes any art impervious to extraneous influence. To make this fully clear, some survey, however short, of the art produced in the Provinces of the Empire seemed needed, and was actually included in my original scheme, but the book proved sufficiently long as it is and, to my regret, I had to limit myself, for the rich products of provincial art, to brief indications at the close of the chapters dealing with the Imperial period.

Even thus curtailed, I am aware how inadequately I have carried out my own programme. I must, moreover, disclaim any pretence of having written a book for archæologists, or one that can prove of the slightest utility or interest to them, either now or in the future. I am mindful of the warning, issued with subtle irony by Alessandro della Seta,to those simple-minded workmen in the field of archæology who toil to collect stones which are of no use for the building up of any structure, since, when a scholar of genius arises, "he, at once workman and architect, begins anew by collecting in his own way the materials which he needs." I certainly cannot hope to have provided stones worthy of a place, however modest, in the foundations upon which a real history of Roman art must eventually be based. But I shall at least sing my Nunc dimittis in peace if I have been able to show the way to those rich quarries where other workers, abler and better equipped for the task, can discover the building materials necessary to more durable reconstructions.

Like everyone who works in the Roman field, I am primarily indebted, on this as on former occasions, to Wickhoff and to Riegl. For primitive Italy much help can now be derived from della Seta's *Italia Antica*, from the *Etruria* of Ducati, and from the recent

investigations of G. von Kashnitz into the nature of Etruscan influence in early Roman portraiture, while important contributions have recently been made to our knowledge of Republican art by C. Weickert and J. Sieveking. I regret that Lehmann-Hartleben's two great volumes on Roman bronzes appeared too late to allow me to make more than passing allusion to them. His earlier work, the *Trajansäule*, has—as I have tried to make clear—brought new and vivid light to bear upon the origin and character of Roman triumphal relief. Other signal contributions to our knowledge of the art of the Trajanic Principate have been made by R. Paribeni in his *Optimus Princeps*, published only last year. For the later periods I am under deep obligation—as everyone must be—to the writings of G. Rodenwaldt, C. Albizzati, G. v. Kaschnitz, R. Delbrueck and C. Morey. For the dates of monuments I owe much to Professor Tenney Frank's illuminating monograph on the building materials of Republican Rome, and to those inspiring papers and articles in which Dr. Esther van Deman has solved so many problems relative to the dating of the buildings of the Urbs. In this connexion I should also mention my debt to Cultrera's *Architettura Ippodamea*, an interesting contribution to ancient town planning of which, had not space failed me, I could have made more use. The bibliographies and even the text show how much I have tried to learn from the works of the late Teresio Rivoira and from those of Tenney Frank and of M. Rostowzew. My more personal thanks are due to Dr. Thomas Ashby for the encouragement accorded me in this and other work during an official association of sixteen years; for the privileges of free access to his rich library, and for generously loaning to me so many of his own valuable photographs of Rome and the Campagna, before he had published them himself. Every student of Rome is indebted to Ashby's numerous books and articles, but I have to thank him more especially for allowing me the use of the proof sheets of his latest works, and of his still unpublished topographical dictionary of Rome—a work (undertaken in collaboration with the late S. Platner) which promises to be the most important monument of Roman archæological scholarship that has appeared of late years. I owe another special debt to my friend Mrs. Arundell Esdaile, for helping me shape and revise the first draft of the book. After all these years I must not hold her responsible for any of my statements, yet I like to think that the work retains even now occasional traces of her fine powers of criticism. We worked together during tragic and unforgettable weeks at the beginning of the War, and I often think of how we strove to cheat the anxious hours by steeping ourselves in the problems offered by the art of Eternal Rome.

PREFACE

Endless delays have attended the production of the book—delays caused by war and post-war conditions; by the reported loss on two different occasions of important photographs and irreplaceable clichés, and by the constant inflow of new material. I could scarcely have coped with these repeated worries and disappointments had it not been for the intelligent assistance given me in a secretarial capacity by various students and young colleagues. Mademoiselle Jacqueline de la Harpe, in particular, and, on a later occasion, Mr. Roger Hinks (now of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum) worked with me with untiring zeal on what I each time hoped might be the last revision. This was in 1924–25. In 1925 the book went to the printers, but its publication was once again delayed owing to the troublesome question of illustrations. Meanwhile an unceasing stream of new discoveries and articles had to be taken into account, and Mr. Hinks, who understands better than anyone the difficulties that beset me, has continued to give me much assistance, especially in archæological matters, and has even volunteered to correct the final proofs, that publication, in spite of my absence from England, might not be further retarded. In the matter of proof correction I am likewise very grateful to the Rev. Canon Lonsdale Ragg for generously giving me the benefit of his experience and skill, and for many useful suggestions.

The illustrations have been selected not merely as accompaniments to the text, but as an intrinsic part of the argument. Many of them are of little known objects, and in collecting them I have received generous and ready help from the following: in Italy, from R. Paribeni, G. Lugli, G. Calza, V. Spinazzola, the late Teresio Rivoira, B. Nogara, S. Bocconi, and the Gabinetto Fotografico of the Ministry of Fine Arts; in France, from S. Reinach, E. Espérandieu, MM. Hachette (publishers of the French "Ars Una"); in Germany, C. Weickert, J. Sieveking, C. Lehmann-Hartleben, G. v. Kaschnitz and G. Rodenwaldt; in England from the authorities of the Greek and Roman Department in the British Museum, also from G. F. Hill and H. Mattingly of the Department of Coins and Medals (who kindly sent me casts of various coins); and from the late Gertrude Lowthian Bell, who lent me for study or reproduction many of her valuable photographs of Roman sites in the East; in Denmark from F. Poulsen, Director of the Glyptothek at Ny Carlsberg, and in New York from Gisela Richter, of the Metropolitan Museum. Mr. J. S. Beaumont and Mr. Gordon Leith —both of them former students of the British School at Rome— gave me permission, as long ago as before the war, to reproduce the two plans in Vol. II, p. 58 (Fig. 331) and p. 60 (Fig. 335)

respectively. Finally, Prof. R. Delbrueck had given me, also before the war, prints of many fine photographs taken for his own books, and had, moreover, allowed me to make use of certain quotations from the lectures delivered during his official residence in Rome. L. Curtius, Director of the German Archæological Institute in Rome, has likewise allowed me to reproduce unpublished observations of his on the second and fourth Pompeian styles of architectural decoration, which will, it is hoped, soon be available in his forthcoming book on Pompeian painting. Should this list prove incomplete, I ask forgiveness for the unintentional oversight.[1]

In a book of this nature the bibliographies at the end of each chapter are necessarily of the briefest. They are restricted to the mention of publications which I have found useful to myself, and which I judge will be useful to others. Nothing that has appeared within the last eighteen months could be seriously taken into account. I can only refer the reader in a general manner to the important articles on Roman monuments and works of art which have appeared in the *Bulletino Comunale* for 1927 (*e.g.* by A. M. Colini on the Pantheon and by Colini and Giglioli on the Mausoleum of Augustus), and in the *Römische Mittheilungen* for 1927 (*e.g.* by Sieveking and by Herbig); to F. Noack's fine contribution to the origins of the triumphal arch, in the monographs issued by the Bibliothek Warburg, or to Ed. Weigand's *Propylon und Bogenthor* (in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1928), which though primarily concerned with the East, is of great importance for Republican and Imperial Rome. A few other omissions have been made good in the *Addenda et Errata*.

In conclusion, I cannot but recall the name of the late Mr. William Heinemann—English publisher of the "Ars Una" series, and one of its original founders—to whom I owe the invitation to write the volume on the art of ancient Rome and who took a lively interest in its beginnings. To his successor, Mr. Theodore Byard, I likewise owe sincere gratitude for unfailing assistance in the midst of difficulties, and for the considerateness and liberality with which he has always received my many suggestions and tried to fall in with my wishes.

EUGÉNIE STRONG.

Rome, July 1, 1928.

[1] The photographs which I have personally provided were generally taken in England by Mr. R. B. Fleming, in Rome by Signor Faraglia. All the rest are by special arrangement between the publishers and Messrs. Alinari and other houses.

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ADDENDA ET ERRATA

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Ch. II, p. 23. For coin of *Gens Sulpicia*, see Grueber, *B.M. Coins of Roman Republic*, I. 204, Pl. LV, 14.

To Bibliography add by D. Randall-MacIver, *The Etruscans*, 1927; and H. Muhlestein, *die Kunst der Etrusker* [1928?].

Ch. III, p. 51. To the monographs quoted in Pref., p. xi, add Spano in *Neapolis*, I, on origin of R. triumphal arch.

Ch. IV, p. 62, Fig. 52, see B.M. *Cat. of Gems*, 1926, No. 1033, and for Fig. 53 see new Ch. Dugas, *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1927, p. 347 f.

Ch. IX, p. 158, l. 16 from bottom. For *and kredemnon*, read *and wearing the head-dress known as kredemnon.*

P. 167. Basilica of Porta Maggiore now fully published by G. Bendinelli in *Mon. Antichi dei Lincei*, xxxi, 1927.

P. 170. For sarcophagus Caffarelli see Rodennealdt in *Winckelmann's Program* for 1925.

FIG. 1.—BUILDING STRAW HUTS IN THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA (ASHBY).

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC ITALY

Introductory.—At first sight, prehistoric Italy offers little to hold the imagination captive. Italy, the home in historic times of a succession of artistically gifted races, yields from her earliest periods no such masterpieces of draughtsmanship as the reindeer drawings of Central Europe, or the marvellous paintings—long anterior, probably, to the earliest monuments of Egypt—that arouse our admiration on the walls of the caves of the Moustier, or of Altamira. Even for the epochs upon which legend first casts an uncertain light, her soil has revealed little to set beside either Minoan or Mycenean cities. What were once looked upon as prehistoric remains in Italy have proved to be of later date than might appear at first sight. "The belief once universally held in the high antiquity of these constructions has long been given up," writes Dr. Thomas Ashby; the latest investigations at Norba, for instance, have shown that its walls, though amongst the oldest, cannot be dated further back than 500 B.C.; the imposing walls long famous as Cyclopean at Alatri, Segni, Anagni, are certainly no earlier than those of Norba, and belong to the Roman period; while others, like the fine enclosure of Ferentino, are considerably later, and others again, as we shall see, are of late Republican or even early Imperial date.[1]

[1] Attempts have recently been made to date to a remote antiquity a site like Gabii with its primitive *arx*, augural seat, rock cut road and fortified gateway of "Mycenæan" type, but the pre-Roman Gabii belongs more probably to an early phase of the Etrusco-Latin civilization. For Gabii see Ashby in *Roman Campagna*, p. 134 f.

As late as the second millennium B.C., when the Ægean civilization was at its height and its products were being eagerly sought for in exchange for their own by the art-loving Egyptians, the Italic race was living in round huts thatched with straw in the pile settlements known as Terramare. Yet the student of Italic and Roman art who wishes to penetrate below the surface of things to their first origins can ill afford to neglect what the prehistoric settlements of Italy have to teach. Only here can he find the explanation of many of the phenomena that are most closely associated with the Roman, as distinguished from the Greek, development of Mediterranean art.

§ 1. *The Palæolithic Period.*—The period of the cave-dwellers may be passed over here, as yielding in Italy little or nothing beside a few rough stone implements and ornaments from sporadic finds.

There are, it is true, deposits in the caves of Liguria which are now recognized as being of Mousterian type; similar traces have been found at Falerii near Rome and likewise in Sicily, and mention must be made of the recently discovered but already celebrated Grotta Romanelli in Terra di Otranto, which actually boasts the wall engraving of a horse; but all this is too slight to be seriously considered as part of the origin of art in Italy.

§ 2. *The Neolithic Age.*—In the neolithic, however, or new Stone Age, we find Italy inhabited by a race who not only knew how to polish stone, but who also made a certain rude pottery, decorated at times with simple linear patterns. This period, moreover, saw the birth of architecture; since here huts begin to appear by the side of cave dwellings. These primitive neolithic huts, which were circular with a cylindrical opening at the top for the smoke from the central hearth, develop in time into the *capanna* or cottage, with thatched roof, and doorway flanked by rough pilasters; this again was in time imitated in stone for the temple of Vesta and those other round temples and mausolea which impart so distinctive a note to Roman architecture. It is significant of the force of tradition that the shape of these neolithic huts is still retained by the peasants of the Roman Campagna for their straw *capanne* (Fig. 1).

The most ancient burial-places found on Italian soil belong to the neolithic peoples. Within the tomb, the body was laid on its side with the knees somewhat bent, in imitation of a familiar pose of the living body during rest or sleep; while at other times it was seated with the knees drawn up, in a position which recalls that of the human fœtus. The survivors who built the tomb were thus animated

by a belief in resurrection and re-birth. The settlements of the neolithic peoples are thickest in the territories of Reggio in the Emilia, and of Picenum. Faint traces of their existence in their latest phase, when they apparently knew the use of copper (so-called eneolithic period) have been detected in Latium, in the Sabine country at Cantalupo, in the Montes Lepini at Sgurgola, and as far south as Alatri; and a large and interesting cemetery of this period belonging apparently to some important settlement may be studied at Remedello near Brescia.

§ 3. *The Bronze Age: Terremare Settlements.*—The coming of copper, contrary to what was once believed, is no longer associated with a change of race. From small eneolithic beginnings the Bronze Age gradually developed, but early in this bronze period, probably not later than 2000 B.C., a fresh influence representing a new people made itself felt in Italy. This race brought with it a system of pile construction (*palafitte*) derived from the lake dwellings of Central Europe, and, what is of great importance for the history of art, they introduced burial by incineration. With them the Italic peoples first make their appearance, while the older inhabitants, so far as they did not leave Italy altogether, were pushed up into the north-west region, where they survived, under the name of Ligurians, to historical times. The new-comers appear first in the valley of the Po, whence they gradually work south through the Emilia, where their settlements are thickest.[1] On dry land their pile dwellings were soon modified. The substratum, for instance, was allowed to increase by the accumulation of rubbish till it formed a high base upon which the hut rose, much as in later times the Roman temple upon its high podium. The settlements thus formed are the famous *terremare*, so called from a corruption of *terra marna*, the name given by the peasants of certain districts to a particular soil which they found to have fertilizing qualities, and which was later discovered to consist of mixed animal and vegetable refuse, with traces of human habitation.

The terremare of Parma and Modena, which are among the most perfect, show an orderly ground-plan which in itself is a proof of advanced culture. For instance, the plan of the terramare of Castellazzo near Parma (now covered up) recalls that of a Roman camp (Fig. 2). A main road, corresponding to the Roman *decumanus*, divides the settlement from East to West, and is cut at right angles from North to South by a second road corresponding to the *cardo;* other roads running parallel to these main thorough-

[1] For the puzzling settlement of *terramara* type found as far South as Taranto, see Peet and Ashby in *C.A.H.*, II, xxi, p. 570 and 572.

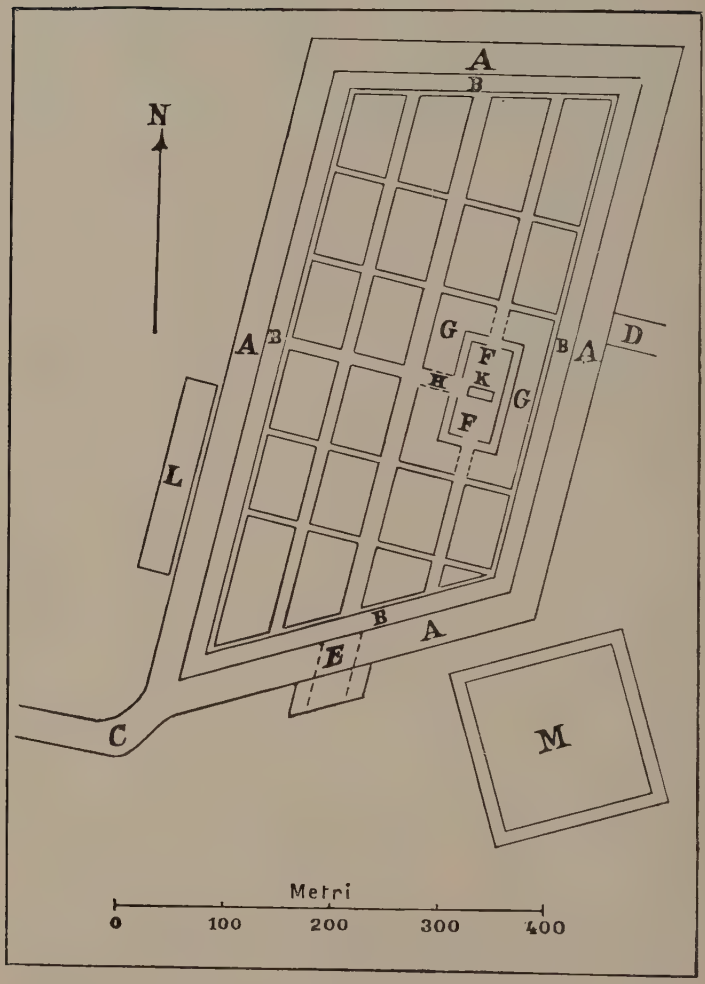

FIG. 2.—PLAN OF A TERRAMARE AT CASTELLAZZO, NEAR PARMA.

fares divide the settlement into so many symmetrical parts. The enclosure differs only from that of the later camp in being trapezoidal instead of rectangular, the former shape being adopted for the easier inflow of the water at the acute angle of the enclosure where it entered from a trench (C). To the right we observe an enclosed space which can only be explained as a τέμενος, or *templum*, marked off by augural lines. Thus while the round neolithic hut recalls the simplest conception of the sky as a circle, or rather of the *mundus* with its sky-shaped dome, the quadrilateral habitation and settlement of the Bronze and Terramare age aimed at imitating that fourfold division of the sky which is produced by uniting its cardinal points. This quadripartite grouping of habitations was the rudiment, not only of the Roman camp, but of the Roman city. It was the plan according to which the sites of the Roman colonies were marked out throughout the Empire: its last word is Diocletian's palace at Spalato. The first city on the Palatine followed its norm, and though at a later date Rome, owing to the difficulties presented by the undulations of her hills, could never adopt the quadrilateral principle in its perfection,[1] she yet imposed it far and wide.

> "The Roman augur who asked the will of Heaven marked off a square piece of sky or earth—his *templum*—into four quarters; in them he sought for his signs. The Roman general who encamped his troops laid out their tents on a rectangular pattern governed by the same idea. The commissioners who assigned farming-plots on the public domains to emigrant citizens of Rome planned these plots on the same rectangular scheme—as the map of rural Italy is witness to this day" (HAVERFIELD).

These *terremaricoli*—as the inhabitants of the terremare are called—appear to have been an agricultural people. They produced a surprising variety of implements and weapons of bronze; and a characteristic type of brooch in the shape of a violin bow, often found in their burial urns, which was doubtless used to pin the garments at the shoulder. The method of burial was invariably by incineration, the ashes being deposited in an urn covered with an inverted bowl.

§ 4. *Bronze Age* (*continued*).—The richest prehistoric civilizations on Italian soil belong to the Bronze Age. They can best be studied in the finds of Sardinia, Sicily, South Italy, Malta, Gozo and Capri, and also on various sites of what was afterwards Etruria, always bearing in mind that the character of the tombs and other deposits

[1] See the significant passage in Cicero, *de Lege agraria*, ii. 35, 96.

varies considerably according to the locality. In Sardinia the reconstructions of Taramelli help us to realize this civilization in all its splendour from the days of the great nuraghs to the coming of the Etruscans. In Rome itself traces of this very early civilization were not known till three years ago, when trenches thought to have belonged to a Bronze Age settlement were discovered on the Monte Mario. Unfortunately, modern building operations on the site have effectually checked further investigation, so that no very sure conclusions can be drawn from these remains.

FIG. 3.—BURIAL-URN OF VILLANOVAN TYPE. (COLL. ASHBY.)

§ 5. *The Iron Age.*—Upon the age of Bronze followed that of Iron, which was brought into Italy towards the close of the period of the terremare by a people coming from the North. The newcomers, whose chief centre was on or near the site of the later Bologna, are generally referred to as the Villanovan peoples, from the necropolis of Villanova near Bologna, where a large number of their characteristic remains were first discovered. Of paramount importance were the famous ossuaries, of similar shape to those already known to the *terramaricoli* but of a finer finish (above, p. 3). The so-called Villanovans, who seem identical with or akin to the pre-Dorian Hellenes, adopted from their predecessors on Italic soil many of their customs, but appear to have introduced a new system of inauguration facing East in place of the older system facing North.[1] The discovery of this change of ritual orientation is probably destined to throw much light on the early stages of Italic civilization. From the region of the Bolognese, the Villanovans spread to Tuscany, whence they gradually moved South to Veii, where a

FIG. 4.—THE SEPOLCRETO.

[1] See Rose, H. J., *J.R.S.*, xiii. 1923, p. 89.

large number of their ossuaries was found some years ago (Fig. 3), and their traces reach, it is thought, as far as Rome.

§ 6. *The Sepolcreto of the Roman Forum.*—So far the oldest site on Roman soil that has yielded finds with any claim to be considered in a history of art is the burial-ground on the East side of the Forum, the famous necropolis popularly known as the Sepolcreto (Fig. 4) discovered in 1903 near the Temple of Faustina, at a depth of about three metres below the present level of the Sacra Via. The latest burials date from about 600 B.C.; the rest range over all the centuries back to perhaps the eleventh, and reveal faint traces both of Villanovan and early Etruscan civilization. The earliest pottery is rude and made by hand of local clay found in the Forum itself. A group of these primitive pots, found enclosed in a large plain jar sunk into the tufa, is shown in Fig. 5. The most remarkable among them are the hut urns, which are round or oval in shape, in imitation of the primitive *capanna*, and which thus copy for the dead the cottage-hut of the living. They are mostly devoid of ornament, save for one example seen in the centre of Fig. 5, which displays on its door the symbolic *swastika*, or "hooked cross." Fig. 6 shows another jar or *dolium* with the burial urn at the bottom, and above it a number of smaller vases. No figurines have been found in the Sepolcreto, but personal ornaments occur which at this primitive stage doubtless have the value of amulets. Both the hooked cross and the amber prove commercial intercourse with foreign peoples, while a few small Greek vases of the class known as

FIG. 5.—HUT-URN AND VASES FOUND IN SEPOLCRETO.

FIG. 6.—DOLIUM WITH BURIAL-URN. (Sepolcreto.)

Proto-Corinthian, poor and rough though these particular examples may be, show that between the eighth and the sixth century B.C., the age usually assigned to this class of pottery, the products of Greece were already known to the pre-Romulei of Giacomo Boni—the ancient race whose bones lie to this day deep below the historical level of the Forum. Since the primitive burial-ground must always be outside the settlement, that life may not be contaminated by the contact of death, it is evident that the Sepolcreto belongs to a period earlier than the Rome of history or legend, when the valley of the Forum, later the very heart of the city's life, was a waste space outside it where burials were allowed. It was presumably used by the people of one or more of the settlements on the spurs of the surrounding hills, and, since inhumation and cremation are found here practically side by side, it may be that the Sepolcreto belonged to a people of mixed race, representing that union of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements which constitutes a decisive stage in the growth of Rome. Who precisely were the peoples that thus united to form the first nucleus of the Urbs—they are generally identified as Latins and Sabellians—is a question still debated. Recent discoveries on Roman sites tend to show that they derived from a common Latin stock. Many of their characteristics persisted under the later Etruscan dominion, and though modified and shaped by repeated cultural vicissitudes, survived as an integral element of Roman civilization and art. The Sepolcreto ceased to be used somewhere between 700 and 600 B.C., at the period probably when the various village communities were united into what is known as the *Septimontium*. Then the Forum, from being a waste outside the settlements, became the common meeting-place of the peoples from the surrounding hills; burials were forbidden and the old cemetery was levelled up and forgotten.

FIG. 7.—HUT-URN FROM ESQUILINE. (Conservatori.)

§ 7. *Other Prehistoric Burial-grounds near Rome.*—The Sepolcreto is among the most recently as well as the most systematically excavated of a number of similar burial-grounds, but though possibly the earliest, it is not the only primitive cemetery on Roman soil. One

that must have been of large size and have continued in use well into the historic period was on the Esquiline; but unfortunately its discovery—a mere accident of modern building operations—led to an indiscriminate excavation, conducted without scientific notes or observation. But among the finds of what must have been the earliest strata is a cabin urn decorated with a *swastika*, precisely similar to the one from the Sepolcreto. Together with the other Esquiline finds it is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Fig. 7). Objects from other prehistoric cemeteries on the Quirinal and on the Viminal are exhibited in the same museum. Of two important sites close to the city—Antemnæ (near the Via Salaria, N. of the Villa Savoia) and Fidenæ (on the site of Castel Giubileo) — only the very faintest traces have been recovered. A number of Alban sites—Castel Gandolfo and others—have likewise yielded pottery and hut-urns similar to those of the Sepolcreto in the Forum. In the early Iron age, hut-urns of almost rectangular shape, though with curved roofs and ends, make their appearance. The beautiful hut-urn from Falerii Veteres, in the Villa Giulia, which is carried out in plates of bronze and decorated with a "string of pearls" pattern, seems fashioned exactly on the model of a primitive house, with beams intercrossing above the saddle-roof (Fig. 8). But it already belongs to the Etruscan period and may even be of foreign importation. The reader who wishes to pursue these studies further will find that the Museo di Villa Giulia contains incomparable and well-arranged material from the prehistoric sites of Gabii, Capena, Falerii, and almost every important prehistoric site in the neighbourhood of Rome; but these belong to the domain of prehistory, and to discuss them in detail is not necessary for our present purpose.

FIG. 8.—BRONZE URN FROM FALERII VETERES. (Villa Giulia.)

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N.B. p. 1. The quotation from Dr. Ashby may now be read in its full context in his ed. of Anderson & Spiers' *Architecture of Ancient Rome*, 1927, p. 5.

P. 4, fig. 2. The plan is from Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages* (vid. Bibl.): A = moat; B = rampart; C = trench to bring in water; E = wooden bridge; F = platform (*area limitata* = templum); G = moat (*fossa*); H = bridge to platform; K = small trench with five ritual pits at bottom; L and M = cemeteries for cremation.

FIG. 9.—PROCESSIONAL SCENE (CONSERVATORI).

CHAPTER II

ETRUSCAN AND EARLY GREEK INFLUENCE IN ROME

§ 1. *Etruria and the Septimontium in the Seventh Century.*—The culture of the primitive community on the Septimontium—corresponding roughly with the age of the earliest kings—was profoundly modified, it is thought, in the seventh century, or it may be somewhat earlier, by the coming of the Etruscans of history, who contributed to the people of the seven hills the first enduring elements of civilization. The Romans themselves so fully believed in the Etruscan origin of their city that Romulus, the reputed founder of the *Roma Quadrata* of the Palatine, was said to have marked its limits with full Etruscan rites (*Etrusco more*); in other words, to have given it the quadrilateral shape of the ancient terremare settlements. Yet the origins of this extraordinary people are veiled in greater mystery than those of any other of the races that helped to form that complex unity which was Rome. The most generally accepted theory, which is as old as Herodotus, represents the Etruscans as an Asiatic people, who came from Lydia in consequence of displacements unknown to history, and made their way to the western shores of Italy, where, being already possessed of an advanced culture, they soon established a supremacy over the ruder Italic tribes. The date of their appearance in Italy has been variously placed, at about 1500 B.C. by Eduard Meyer for instance, and again as late as 1000 by Furtwängler, who would make them leave Asia Minor at the beginning of the Iron Age in Italy. More recent research seems to show that there is nothing distinctly Etruscan in Etruria before the ninth century B.C., while some authorities

push down the period of the Etruscan expansion in Cental Italy to as late as the seventh or six centuries B.C.

Etruscan influence in Rome is an established fact of paramount importance. But there were other peoples—now forgotten or else completely overshadowed by the greater fame of the Etruscans—whose cultural development must likewise have been of significance for that of Rome and Italy. Such, for instance, were the Faliscans, the ancient inhabitants of the *ager Faliscus*, a district N. of Rome which had *Falerii Veteres* (Civita Castellana) for its capital. It has recently been pointed out that the imposing rock façades of the tombs of Central Etruria, some of which have traces of well-carved friezes, differ from the Faliscan type, "which, though presenting some admirable and original though rare specimens of carved doorways, all belong to the portico form, and differ from the Etruscan type proper." One school of modern archæology actually believes that the Etruscans owed more to the Faliscans than did the Faliscans to them. There must at any rate have been a thorough interpenetration of the two cultures, but by the time the Etruscans make themselves felt on Roman soil they seem to have absorbed the Faliscans, who survive in history only as a name.

For a long period the Etruscans seem to have been content to remain on the North of the Tiber, forced perhaps into this position by that outpost of the Latino-Sabellian people which was to grow into the city of Rome. Recent excavations seem to show that at a very early date they advanced as far as the Monte Mario, where early Etruscan tombs, and what seem to be traces of an Etruscan settlement, were found on the top of the remains mentioned above as dating apparently from the Bronze Age (p. 6).

§ 2. *The Tarquins at Rome.*—Exactly when, or how, the Etruscans came to cross the Tiber is uncertain. But at a date which, though legendary, seems fairly to accord with the facts, we find an Etruscan dynasty, the Tarquins, ruling at Rome and displacing the old kings of the Septimontium. Possibly the earliest Etruscan settlement was on the Capitol with its two hills, a locality which remained intimately connected with Etruscan religion and history and does not seem to have formed an integral part of the earlier city. Hence the Etruscans gradually spread, by peaceful absorption rather than by violent conquest, over the Septimontium, which they united into a city divided, for purposes of government, into four regions (the Servian city of legend). This city they surrounded with a *pomœrium* or fosse, traced as always by the augurs, and probably also with a city-wall pierced at intervals by gates, to which we may attribute certain very ancient patches of masonry in the much later wall

formerly identified as the Servian. When the Etruscans had given material shape to the city they proceeded to endow it with all the gifts of art and architecture which they had brought with them from their original seats. For the rude mud ramparts and straw palisades they substituted walls of finished stone masonry, and for the primitive *capanna* with its hole in the centre for the smoke of the hearth, the solid stone *ædes* or house, with atrium open to the sky. But the supreme gift which the Etruscans bestowed on the Romans was the theological system which gradually superseded and absorbed the simple animistic religion of the early settlers, who only knew the open-air worship of *numina* within sacred enclosures. The gods introduced by the Etruscans had to be housed within shrines and temples which, with the tomb or houses of the dead, are the forms of building upon which man has lavished his highest artistic ingenuity. And it was the Etruscans who impressed upon Roman architecture many of its most enduring characteristics: the high podium of the temples—the first assertion in Western Europe of the principle of verticalism—and the round tomb; both of these forms derive from the primitive terremare, to which the Etruscans imparted a monumental significance.

§ 3. *Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.*—The earliest temple built by the Etruscans in Rome ranked first in importance to the end of the city's pagan dominion. It stood on the Capitol and was dedicated to the supreme Etruscan triad of gods: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (Fig. 10). To this Capitoline cult of a celestial Triad corresponded the terrestrial Triad of Ceres, Liber and Libera, whose temple was near the Circus Maximus.

The impressive remains of the Capitoline temple may still be seen in the garden of the Palazzo Caffarelli. The partial demolition of the Palace now makes it clear that what still exists is the podium of the original temple of the Tarquins.[1] The superstructure, calculated at about 204 × 188 Italic feet, has disappeared without leaving any trace, so that we are left to reconstruct it from the classic description of a Tuscan temple in Vitruvius, and from the vestiges of the various *Capitolia* which arose at a later date in different parts of Italy in imitation of the Roman Capitol. A spacious vestibule, with three columns on the side and six on the front, led to the three parallel cellas which together formed a square.[2] The Capitoline temple

[1] The remains may now be conveniently seen in the new Museo Mussolini on the Capitol; those of the temple terrace in Room VIII, and those of the long wall which was part of the podium in the "passaggio del Muro Romano" which connects the new museum with that of the Conservatori.

[2] Owing to its importance, the Capitoline temple was long considered to be the

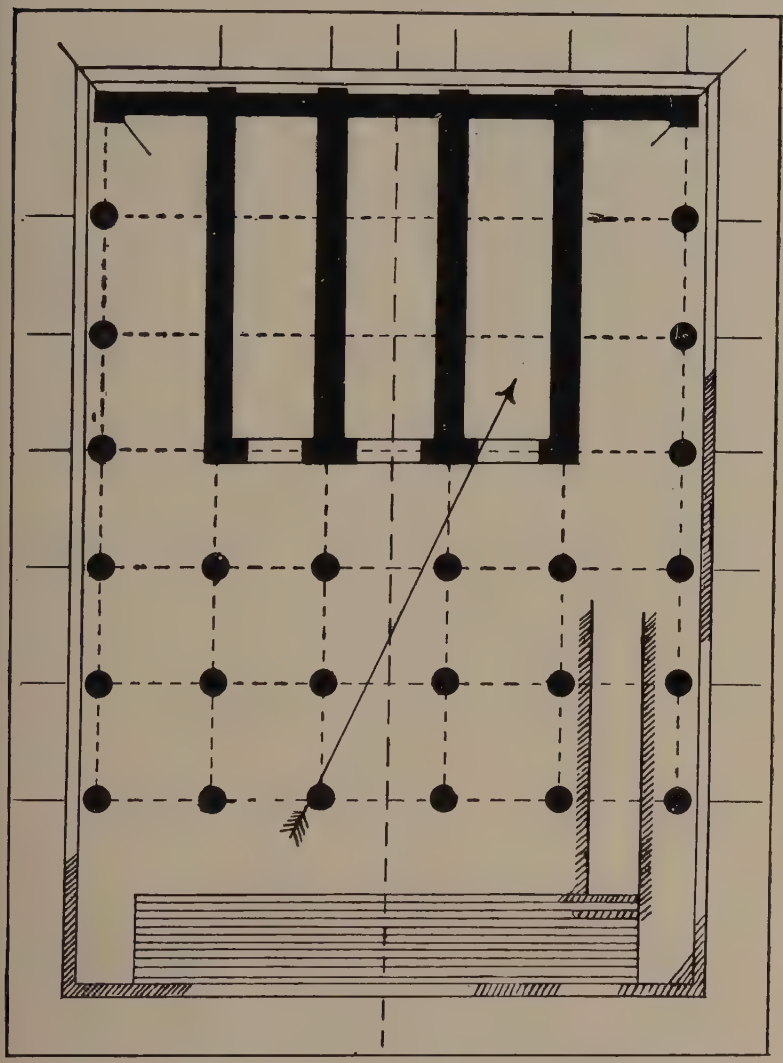


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

was repeatedly destroyed by fire, yet it was always rebuilt on the original plan, though details may have been modified from time to time. The earliest decoration was in the brilliantly coloured terra-cotta, typical of Etrusco-Latin art. A quadriga of terra-cotta crowned the gable, but at this early date the gable itself was probably left open, and only the end of the central beam would be decorated with a group in relief, as may be seen on the instructive little terra-cotta model from Nemi in the Villa Giulia (p. 112).

§ 4. *The Statue of Jupiter: the Artist Volca.*—The large terra-cotta statue of Jupiter which stood in the central cella was entrusted to one Volca, an Etruscan artist from Veii, who is also said to have made the *quadrigæ* of the roof. The Jupiter carried in one hand a thunderbolt; in the other a sceptre, both objects being likewise of terra-cotta. The face, we are told, was coloured red; a fact which to later writers seemed to call for remark, but which is in accordance with the early custom of colouring the flesh of male statues a deep red, or else black, while that of female statues was painted white. The statue appears to have been draped in real garments consisting of a tunic embroidered with figures of Victory alternating with palm branches, worn under a purple mantle embroidered in gold. Statues of Juno and Minerva stood each in its own cella on either side of the Jupiter.

FIG. 11.—SARCOPHAGUS FROM CAERE (detail). (Villa Giulia.)

The statues of the three Capitoline cellas have long disappeared, but we are not without monuments to help us to realize what they were like. Such are the magnificent recumbent groups that adorn the lids of the three sarcophagi from Cervetri; now preserved in the Villa Giulia (Fig. 11), the Louvre and the British Museum respectively. In all three examples the figures—a man and his wife—are of early fifth-century date, and show an evident kinship

original Etruscan type, but it has been shown by Della Seta (Museo di Villa Giulia, 121–126) followed by Ashby (*R.A.*, p. 3), that the earliest Etruscan temples were oblong like the Greek and that the great width of *cella* of the Capitoline temples was not primarily Etruscan, but was imposed by the necessities of the triple cult.

with contemporary Græco-Ionian sculpture. The bearded heads of the men may well resemble the Capitoline Jupiter, and those of the women, with their high pointed head-dresses and long oval faces, the Juno and the Minerva. Even the bodies, if we can imagine them as standing upright, provide useful elements for our reconstruction.

§ 5. *The Veientine Apollo and related Works.*—The grand Apollo found at Veii in 1917—now a glory of the Villa Giulia—takes us a step further and throws a vivid light on the Veientine school, to which Volca, the author of the Capitoline Jupiter, belonged. In fact it seems reasonable to suppose that the Apollo was also a work of this Veientine artist, and that Volca was summoned to Rome because of the fame he had already acquired in his own country. In this now famous statue (Fig. 12) we find that mingling of Greek and Italic elements which is so distinctive of Etruria in the sixth century, and which is also evident in the recumbent figures from Cervetri (Fig. 11). Much about the Apollo recalls contemporary Ionian art, but it is Ionian art transposed to another key. The forms are more robust, the movement more intense, the corporeity more emphatic, than is usual with the Greeks. The full round curls are not unknown to early Greek sculpture, but they are more specifically Italic.

FIG. 12.—APOLLO FROM VEII. (Villa Giulia.)

The work is full of beautiful detail: the long oval of the face, the drawn-up sensuous mouth, the delicate nostrils are modelled with consummate knowledge, and so is the young and supple body seen through the clinging lines of the drapery. The colouring likewise is singularly attractive: the white slip used for the god's garments has turned a pale ivory, and the deep brown of the flesh parts has the effect of bronze; the hair is black, the slanting eyes a vivid white with black pupils. The agile movement, the beauty of the forward stride—he has been well called the walking Apollo, *l'Apollo che cammina*—can, however, only be fully appreciated when we mentally restore the Apollo to the group of which it once formed part. This group apparently represented a contest with Heracles for the possession of a sacred hind in the presence of Artemis amd Hermes. The finely modelled head of the Hermes has been fortunately preserved with part of the shoulders (Fig. 13).

§ 6. *The Capitoline Wolf.*—Among other fragments of the Veientine group, that of the hind (Fig. 14) is of singular importance.

FIG. 13.—HERMES FROM VEII.
(Villa Giulia.)

FIG. 14.—FRAGMENT OF HIND FROM VEII.
(Villa Giulia.)

The leanness of the wild creature, the fine tension of her skin, her delicate yet strong ossature, are both true to nature and finely decorative. Similar qualities may be observed in another masterpiece of animal sculpture, the famous Capitoline wolf (Fig. 15), which, from its affinities to the hind, we can have no hesitation in attributing to the same school and possibly to the same hand. We have seen that the master of the Veientine group was almost certainly none other than Volca, and it was only fitting that the wolf, fashioned to be the emblem of the watchful power of the Roman state, should have been created within the same artistic cycle as the effigy of the supreme god of the Roman religion.

FIG. 15.—THE CAPITOLINE WOLF.
(Conservatori.)

The Wolf is probably the best known statue in the world, but it has been so vulgarized in myriads of reproductions that we are

apt to overlook its extraordinary merits as a work of art. The vigorous vitality of the silhouette, the manner in which the smooth dark bronze is made to convey the play of muscles under the taut skin, the fierce strength of the pose, the sinewy limbs, the grim and powerful head are hard to match in ancient art. To find a worthy parallel we should have to go to Egypt or perhaps to the masterpieces of Barye. According to the most recent investigations, images of the Twins were an integral part of the original group, though the "Romulus and Remus" that we now see are restorations of the early Renaissance.[1]

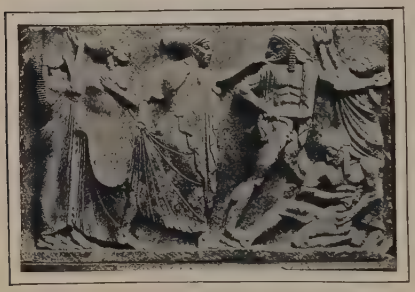
§ 7. *Other Temples of the Etruscan Period in or near Rome.*—Of the innumerable temples and shrines that arose in and near Rome under the Etruscan kings, the Temple of Saturn at the foot of the Capitol was reputed next in date to that of Jupiter on the top of the hill, and as a fact a very old piece of the original foundation of *cappellaccio*[2] is still visible under its East wall. Its magnificent podium alone makes this temple one of the most impressive landmarks of Rome, but what we now see, though not as late as was once supposed, dates at the earliest from a reconstruction of the last century of the Republic, and the superstructure is again very much later. Near the Circus Maximus rose, as already noted, the Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, tripartite like that of the three Capitoline deities. The Temple of Diana on the Aventine, founded as the Roman Sanctuary of the Latin League, and that of Jupiter Latiaris on the Mons Albanus, which was the League's religious centre, belong to the same era. It was possibly then also that a first temple was built on the shores of Lake Nemi in honour of an old tribal divinity of Woods and Flocks, the later Diana Nemorensis or Aricina of Roman mythology, with whom the cult of the Aventine

[1] According to Carcopino, the legend of the Twins was evolved from the presence under the wolf of a group, not of children, but of two small figures of men, personifying the alliance of the Romans, or people of the Septimontium, with their rivals the Sabines. These male adult figures shown under the tutelary totem of the Sabine tribes were afterwards mistaken for children. The group, then, is identical with that of the wolf and twins that was struck down by lightning in the year 65 B.C., having presumably escaped the fire of the year 83 B.C. After it had been struck, the wolf was probably buried (always according to Carcopino) in the *favissæ* of the temple, to be re-discovered in the Middle Ages, when it was set up near the Lateran, whence it was brought back to the Capitol under Sixtus IV. Curiously enough, there are no copies or imitations of this group, which after all only means that it was buried and forgotten before the age of the copyists. Carcopino revives the theory that the wolf is Greek or directly inspired by Greek models (cf. *J.R.S.*, xvi. 1926, p. 134); but the argument I put forward in *R.S.* (1907, p. 30), of its Roman origin has been strengthened by subsequent discovery and by what has since been said by Della Seta, Giglioli and others (see my *Scultura Romana*, 1923, p. 4 ff.).

[2] A rough tufaceous stone, generally greenish in colour, and very friable.

goddess was closely connected. I would conjecture that a plaque at Ny Carlsberg representing the murder of Ægisthus by Orestes, which was found at Ariccia, whither Orestes was said to have fled after the murder, bringing with him the cult of Diana, reproduces a picture or relief that once hung in the temple. It is of Etrusco- or Latino-Greek character and illustrates the tendencies noted in the Veientine and Cervetri terra-cottas, though it may be later (Fig. 16).

§ 8. *Etruscan Rome: the Forum and Palatine, the Tullianum.*— Further traces of the Regal period may be found in the Forum and on the Palatine, which, in virtue of their great historical significance, have been the most systematically excavated of any Roman sites.



[*Photo. Furtwängler, Gemmen.*

FIG. 16.—PLAQUE AT NY CARLSBERG.

In the Forum, for instance, we may reckon as datable to the sixth century the two tufa pedestals supposed to have supported lions and to have flanked the "Tomb of Romulus"; the mysterious truncated cone near by, which may or may not have marked the tomb, and the famous stele whereon is cut what is "perhaps the earliest fragment of Latin in existence" (but see p. 25). And there are remains of very early structures under the Comitium, at the Eastern end of the Forum under the Regia or old Palace of the Kings, and in the adjoining house of the Vestals.

On the Palatine archæology has been found to confirm legend in a striking manner. The well-known blocks of *cappellaccio* at the South-West corner of the hill are clear evidence, says a distinguished modern historian, that "Rome's tradition of a sixth-century Palatine wall, in fact of a complete city wall, must be correct." Other remains, however, are too fragmentary and confused to help us to any vivid picture of the monuments within the citadel, till we come to the venerable circular pit, not far from the *Scala Caci*, which may be the ritual pit of the altar of the primitive Palatine settlement. It is well preserved and remarkably well constructed of rings of thin *cappellaccio* slabs lined with stucco. Close by is a second "cistern" or pit built of overlapping courses of stone in the manner of the Greek *tholoi*, and perhaps retaining the original

function of a *tholos* as a storing-house for treasure or grain. Another example of this type of vaulted structure discovered further East under the peristyle of the Flavian palace has a circular shaft in its floor leading to a short gallery, and seems distinctly suited to serve as an underground granary.[1] This method of vaulting by overlapping concentric rings survived to historic times. Judging from the material employed, the best known of those constructions, the *Tullianum* or "well-house" at the foot of the Capitoline arx is as late as the third century. The *Tullianum* is a crypt of horse-shoe shape, originally accessible only through a hole at the top, and serving as a dungeon, or rather as a "death chamber" if we are to follow the most recent authorities and to believe it identical with the prison house described by Sallust (*Catilina*, 35.3).

Of approximately the same period, and built on the same principle, is the well near Tusculum. There are doubtless many more of these structures forgotten underground and no longer accessible. In Italy, as in Greece, this primitive type of vaulting long remained in use for storage cellars, and evidently also for prison cells and well-houses.

[*Photo. Ashby.*

FIG. 17.—PRIMITIVE ARCH IN FORUM.

§ 9. *Arches: the Cloaca Maxima.* —It is generally believed that the principle of the arch was introduced into Rome by the Etruscans, but it is curious that in Etruria itself the arch does not make its appearance before the fourth century, and then it seems somewhat inferior in beauty of construction to what we find in Rome at a much earlier date. A good example is provided by those early vaulted passages visible at several points in the Forum, recently pronounced by Ashby "to be by two or three centuries the earliest Roman arches in existence." They are generally supposed to have spanned tributary branches of the Cloaca Maxima, but according to a more recent interpretation, their purpose was possibly to cover the altar drains necessary for carrying off the blood of victims. The best preserved of these passages, with its channelled ledge clearly visible on the right (Fig. 17), is on the West side of the Temple of Saturn, and was perhaps connected with the ancient

[1] This is the *mundus* of Boni.

altar of *cappellaccio* in front of the temple. It is remarkable for its finish, though it must be of fifth-century date like the early temple. The *Cloaca Maxima* itself which drains the Forum was the most famous of the engineering works attributed to the Tarquins (Fig. 18). It still survives, and part is actually in use to this day; its mouth may be seen just below the round temple on the Tiber, with its three concentric rows of voussoirs in peperino. It is thought, however, that the Cloaca of the Tarquins was an open channel,[1] and that what we now see is not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C. or, according to others, as late as Agrippa. [ADD.]

[*Photo. Ashby.*

FIG. 18.—MOUTH OF CLOACA MAXIMA.

§ 10. *The Royal Walls.*—Of other monuments that may be definitely dated in the period of the Etruscan supremacy the walls attributed to King Servius have all but completely disappeared save for a few stretches built into the later structures and still visible at different points. They were presumably destroyed in the capture of Rome by the Gauls in 391 B.C., and the considerable remains, that so often pass as Servian, belong to the rebuilding after that event, or to later reconstructions of the Gallic wall. In the sixth and fifth centuries, a number of Italic cities were, like Rome, fortified with walls and gates that vary in style according to the materials employed, but whose remains afford a vivid idea of the power and splendour of the period. About 600, or very slightly later, arose the polygonal fortifications of Norba with its rudimentary terracing (Fig. 19), and nearly contemporary are the walls and gateway of

FIG. 19.—WALLS OF NORBA.

[1] Plaut., *Curculio*, 476, *in medio propter canalem ibi ostentatores meri.* See, however, Ashby, *s.v.* "Cloaca" in *Top. Dict.*

Signia (Fig. 20) and the walls and platform of Alatri (Figs. 21 and 22). Nearer Rome, Antemnæ, whose plan is thought to have exactly resembled that of the primitive Palatine city, has, like its neighbour Fidenæ, all but totally disappeared, but we may still admire Ardea, with its fine tufa wall of *opus quadratum*, not forgetting Veii with the line of its magnificent acropolis high above the surrounding ravines. City walls may not seem altogether relevant to a history of art, but it must be remembered that in many instances they afford precious help for the dating of monuments, while their encircling lines conferred upon ancient, as later upon mediæval cities, a definite contour, sadly lacking in our modern cities with their straggling suburbs. How aware the ancients were of the artistic possibilities of town walls is shown by the use so often made of them on coins and medals, as, for instance, on a lovely coin of the *Gens Sulpicia* that displays on its reverse the fortified enclosure of Tusculum.

[*Photo. Ashby.*

FIG. 20.—GATE OF SIGNIA.

[*Photo. Min. Pub. Istr.*

FIG. 21.—ACROPOLIS OF ALATRI (RECONSTRUCTION).

§ 11. *The Decorative Arts under the Etruscans.*—Under the dominion of the splendour-loving Tarquins, the Roman parallel to the Peisistratids of Athens, Rome seems for a time to have shared in the civilization attributed to the age of the Tyrants, but there is little archæological evidence of this in Rome itself. To gain an impression of what the culture of the period must have been, we should turn to the rich finds of contemporary Etruscan tombs, or to those from Præneste, the modern Palestrina. Here two chamber-tombs of the first half of the seventh century have yielded objects which mirror the tastes of a society at once luxurious and refined, such as

we may suppose flourished at Rome under the Etruscan kings. These treasures are now conveniently exhibited in the Museo di Villa Giulia (Tomba Barberini) and at the newly arranged Museo Pigorini (Tomba Bernardini). Among the exquisitely fashioned objects of personal adornment are plaques of pure gold adorned with rows of tiny animals (sphinxes, lions, chimæras, human-headed lions, horses, etc., which are themselves decorated with granulated zig-zags and other patterns); fringes of silver-gilt ending in tiny ducks or doves; gold brooches and hair-pins, and small bossy disks with a ring at the back intended possibly as miniature votive shields.

FIG. 22.—WALLS OF ALATRI.

In spite of certain Græco-Oriental details, these gold ornaments seem peculiar to Etruria and Latium, and the product of local goldsmiths. The silver utensils, on the other hand, belong to a class known elsewhere, and are possibly of Cypriote or Phœnician origin. They include jugs and wine-bowls, cups and dishes of great beauty, one of which, found in the Tomba Bernardini, displays along its outermost frieze the strange adventures of a king who went out stag-hunting and was miraculously rescued fron the attacks of a gluttonous monster. The bronze furniture comprises an embossed cauldron set on a high and richly decorated stand; another has dogs looking over the rim into the bowl, and between them male winged figures acting as supporters; a deep bowl is decorated with sirens standing on bull's heads, their wings and hair curiously strapped with narrow bands of *pointillé*. The various ivory objects are delicately carved in relief: the handle of a knife or dagger in the shape of a lion with a man stretched on his back (Fig. 23); others in

FIG. 23.—HANDLE OF DAGGER.
(Villa Giulia.)

the shape of a hand and forearm adorned with zones of animals in relief (Fig. 24), confirming what we know from literature of the importance of ivory in the period of the kings. Since the curule chair from which they exercised their functions was, it is said, of ivory, we may suppose it to have been carved after the fashion of the Prænestine handles, or of the exquisite plaque adorned with the procession of the Nile boat. These ivories and the scenes carved upon them are all of the same Orientalizing school as the silver bowls.

FIG. 24.—IVORY HANDLES.
(Villa Giulia.)

Closely connected with the contents of the Prænestine tombs are those of the Tomba Regolini Galassi from Cervetri, in the Museo Gregoriano at the Vatican. The clear kinship of all these groups of finds shows that at this date Latium and Etruria shared a common culture; but the Latinity of certain products was beginning to assert itself; for instance, a fibula of the period (in the Museo Pigorini), notable, moreover, for the beauty of its design (Fig. 25), is inscribed in very early Latin characters: "*Manios : med : fhe : fhaḳed : Numasioi*"—Manios made me for Numasios. This, the earliest Latin inscription on metal, is assigned to 600 B.C., and may even antedate the famous archaic cippus of the Forum.

§ 12. *Romano-Etruscan Statuary of the Fifth Century.*—A number of statues have been ascribed to the period of the Tarquins or that immediately following. The wooden *xoanon* or image of Diana in her temple on the Aventine was said to have been brought from Phocæan Marseilles, and was thus possibly an imitation of the famous Artemis in Ephesos. The statue of Ceres for her temple near the Circus was, according to Pliny, of bronze. It was

FIG. 25.—BROOCH MADE BY MANIOS.
(Mus. Pigorini.)

set up in 484 B.C., but so far it has not been traced in later adaptations or copies. More usually the cultus images would be of terra-cotta like that of Jupiter Capitolinus. When of stone they may have resembled the very archaic head of Juno found at Faleri Veteres on the site of the venerable temple of Juno Quirites, who, at a later date, also had a sanctuary in Rome. This head, which is in the Villa Giulia Museum, affords in any case a valuable specimen of very early sculpture in peperino-tufa, though the rough, unattractive material must have been thickly coated with stucco which would afterwards be coloured. It is worked entirely in the round: the forms are distinctly Etruscan, in the hair are traces of a metal wreath or *stephane* and a hole for a nimbus. The ears are pierced for earrings, and it is probable that a spearhead of bronze, found hard by, belonged to the warlike accoutrement of the goddess. We also hear of an equestrian statue of the maiden Clœlia, which it is proposed to recognize as the archaic prototype of the later Epona—a rider goddess of the Roman pantheon; of the statues of the three sibyls that stood near the Rostra; of that of the augur Attius Navius, and many others. The little statuette of an augur with *lituus* or curved staff, found in the Forum (Fig. 26), may help us realize what these effigies of augurs were like. Etruscan art is often seen at its best in its small bronzes, as in that group of the Museo di Villa Giulia, found near Arezzo, that represents a peasant driving his plough and oxen (Fig. 27). More delicately modelled than the augur, but also more conventional, is the draped figure of a male votary in Florence, which has also

FIG. 26.—STATUETTE OF AUGUR FROM ROMAN FORUM.

FIG. 27.—ETRUSCAN PLOUGH. (Villa Giulia.)

been called *Vertumnus;* genuinely Etruscan also, and connected perhaps with the School of Volca, is the beautiful bronze Hercules in the Museum of Este (Fig. 28). From its undoubted resemblance to the Apollo of Veii it may be yet another work of the Veientine School, a reduced copy in bronze, perhaps of a terra-cotta Hercules which Volca is said to have made for the old Cattle Market.

The famous chariot found at Monteleone (in the north of the Sabine territory) and now in New York, and the bronze fragments of similar style from Perugia at Munich, are supreme examples of Ionio-Etruscan relief in bronze. The bronze hanging lamp from Cortona (Fig. 29), with its frieze of Harpies and Sileni, shows the persistence of this archaic manner in a later period. Among other genuine Etruscan art products are the well-known horseshoe *stelæ*, often adorned with subjects of high religious significance, of which the Museum of Bologna possesses a

FIG. 28.—BRONZE HERCULES.
(Mus. of Este.)

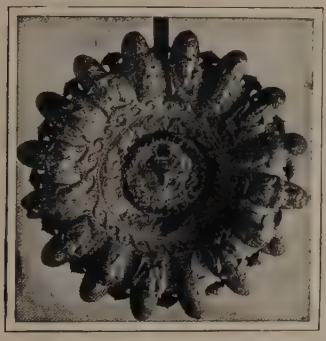


FIG. 29.—THE LAMP OF CORTONA.

notable series. The Etruscan incised mirrors with mythological scenes are familiar objects in almost every collection. They make their first appearance about 500 B.C., and in composition and delicacy of outline are worthy rivals of contemporary Greek vase-painting. Greek vases themselves were largely produced for the Etruscan market, and the appreciation which the Etruscans showed of these incom-

parable shapes and designs is in itself a proof of their sensitiveness to the beautiful.

Long after the political power of Etruria had ceased to exist, Etruscan art continued to flourish and to develop new and original characteristics unknown to Greece, but which strongly influenced the neighbour art of Rome, centuries after Rome had shaken off the Etruscan yoke. The treatment of relief on Etruscan sepulchral urns of the third to the second centuries B.C. has traits that reappear in Imperial art, and it is evident that compositions such as adorn the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo at Orvieto (D.S. 321) must have helped to shape the sarcophagus reliefs of Imperial Rome. The true spirit of Italian art stirs in ancient Etruria, and travelling along we know not what mysterious hidden paths becomes manifest again, as has recently been shown, in Michael Angelo and the Baroque. Who can look at the marvellous winged genii that guard the sarcophagus of Arnth Velimna (D.S. 325) in the tomb of the Volumnii without feeling in the presence of an art that preannounces the prophets and sibyls of the Sistine Chapel?

FIG. 30.—TOMB-PAINTING AT VEII.

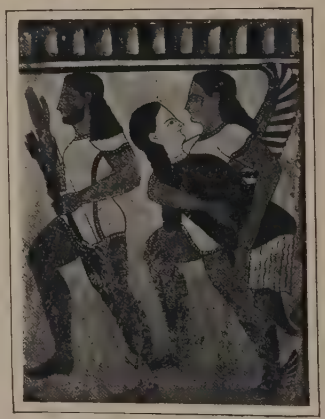


FIG. 31.—TOMB-PAINTING FROM CERVETRI. (Louvre.)

§ 13. *Painting of the Period.*—No traces of painting of a very early period have so far been found in Rome. The oldest example—from the Tomba Campana at Veii—is in a style that has affinities with the proto-Corinthian vases of the seventh–sixth century B.C. The main scene, showing a young horseman surrounded by his servitors, is generally interpreted as the ride of the dead man to the other world (Fig. 30); and seeing the highly mystical

character of all Etruscan painting, this is probably correct. Slightly later in date are the painted terra-cotta plaques from Cære (Cervetri), of which the Louvre possesses one series (Fig. 31) and the British Museum another. These plaques, which were intended for insertion into the walls of tombs, are covered with a creamy white slip on which the design is first traced with a pointed tool and then filled in with colour. The scenes represented have never been entirely explained, but they seem connected with the ritual of the dead or with beliefs as to their ultramundane destiny. The figures have the characteristic Etruscan forms, though the general scheme of decoration seems influenced by Græco-Ionian models. Ionian influences are also evident in the wall paintings of the Tomba dei Tori at Corneto, especially in the scene of Troïlos and Achilles (Fig. 32), while a more advanced stage of Etruscan painting reflects the manner of Attic black-figured vase pictures, as, for example, the frieze of revellers from the Tomba della Pulcella, likewise at Corneto. The paintings that were admired in the Latin temple of Ardea must have had the same character. Thus the head of a woman, as exquisite as any drawing on a Greek vase (Fig. 33), from the Tomba dell' Orco at Corneto, can help us to realize the beauty of the "Helen and Atalanta" in the Temple of Lanuvium (possibly from a group representing a ritual "contest for beauty"), which the Emperor Caligula so passionately coveted, and which he doubtless would have taken for his own collection, had not the nature of the plaster made the removal impossible.

FIG. 32.—TOMB-PAINTING AT CORNETO.

FIG. 33.—TOMB-PAINTING AT CORNETO.

At Ardea, likewise, Pliny saw mural paintings which with antiquarian enthusiasm he declared older than Rome, and it may be one of these paintings which Servius refers to as representing Capaneus struck by lightning. And of the fifth century, or possibly earlier, must have been those paintings, the inscriptions of which Quintilian copied as illustrations of archaic spelling. He tells us they were to be seen in "famous temples," so that they were presumably wall-paintings, and their subjects were Paris and Cassandra (*Alexanter et Cassantra*), Hecuba and the Nurse (*Hecoba et notrix*), Medea (*Culchides*) and Polyxene (*Pulixena*). It is interesting to note already at this early date the predilection for subjects drawn from the Trojan cycle.

§ 14. *The Hellenization of Rome.*—The Etruscans were doubtless responsible for the first Hellenization of Rome, whose pre-Etruscan inhabitants had been too primitive to profit seriously by contact with the civilization of the Greeks. The Etruscans, on the other hand, brought with them to Rome and Latium the intelligent and sympathetic knowledge of Greece, of a highly cultured people, so that what before had been mere accidental contact, due to the chances of commerce, now became a spiritual asset. This new attitude to Greece was soon symbolized by the introduction into Rome of the Sibylline books, those prophetic leaves of Apollo said to have been brought to an Etruscan Tarquin by the Cumean Sibyl herself. The story has a strange historic significance, for the Tarquins themselves, whose ancestor Damaratus had fled from Corinth towards 630 B.C., had already introduced a fresh wave of Greek influence distinct from the Greek elements which the Etruscans had brought from their native seats. The Sibyl of Apollo represents a third stage in this Hellenization of Latium and Rome; she stands for an influence coming from the rich and cultured Magna Græcia, and more specially from Cumæ, where Apollo was the chief divinity and the centre of a famous cult. But Apollo was also the god of Troy, so that the connection of the Sibyl with Rome means Apollo's protectorship of the Romans as Troy's descendants. Rome showed her genius in striving to enter the Greek cycle in virtue of this Trojan descent, and in claiming a place among cultured peoples as her birthright. This happened long before Ennius first gave literary and poetic form to the legend of the Trojan origins of Rome. Though often said, all this cannot be too much insisted on in any study of the growth and development of Roman art.

The "coming of the Sibyl," to use Carter's picturesque phrase, had a significance for the religious development of Rome which was at once mirrored in its artistic products. She came upon the

stage under Etruscan auspices, but she worked for the introduction into Rome of those Greek influences, which in time undermined the Etruscan. Soon the Etruscan manner became synonymous with "old-fashioned." Though few monuments of the period have survived, there is enough to confirm what the barren lists of the annalists and the more glowing accounts of the historians tell of the growing influence of Greece. Thus in 496, when a bad harvest and the difficulty of obtaining supplies from abroad in war-time were seriously affecting the Roman army, the augurs consulted the Sibylline books, and at their bidding introduced the cult of the Greek gods of increase—Demeter, Dionysos and Kore—who were at once identified with the Roman Ceres, Liber and Libera in their temple near the Circus. On this occasion the temple, which, as we have seen, was in the Etruscan manner and dedicated to an Etruscan Triad, was apparently redecorated by Greek artists summoned for the purpose. Their names, Damophilos and Gorgasos, were taken from the Greek metrical inscription which recorded that "on the right hand were the works of Damophilos, on the left the works of Gorgasos." Both names are Dorian, and suggest the influence of the powerful Dorian colony of Taranto which afterwards sent so many works of art to Rome. Our informant goes on to add that before this all the decorations of temples used to be in the Tuscan style; the temple decoration, therefore, seems to embody a reaction from an old form to a new, *i.e.* from the outworn Etruscan to the newer Greek manner. We have another striking example of this new influence in the temple dedicated in 484 B.C. on the east side of the Roman Forum to the Greek saviour gods—the divine Twins who, after the victory of Lake Regillus, had stopped to water their horses hard by at the spring of Juturna. The date assigned to the legendary account is confirmed by the remains of early fifth-century masonry of soft grey-green *cappellaccio* existing under the later Republican and Imperial restorations of the temple, and by the archaic character of the statues of the Dioscuri which were set up on a pedestal within the *Lacus Juturnæ*. These statues themselves, to judge from the few fragments and the fairly well-preserved head of a horse, have nothing Etruscan about them, but are products of the Greek schools of Southern Italy. The same may be asserted of an archaic torso of Apollo found in the *lacus* and now set up in a niche near by. This torso, we may add, has a further interest owing to its probable connection with Regillus, which was close to Gabii, where Apollo had a cult.

In 431 B.C., once more by command of the Sibylline books, a temple was erected near the Circus Flaminius in honour of Apollo

the Healer, that he might stay a plague. Though the story itself bears a suspicious resemblance to that of Apollo the Averter of Evil, whose statue was rededicated about the same time in Athens, also on the occasion of a plague, the date is corroborated by a core of fifth-century *cappellaccio* still visible below the cloisters of Santa Maria in Campitelli within later foundations on what we now safely believe to have been the site of the temple. Apollo being a foreign deity, his temple stood, like that of Ceres and like the temple to Mercury (built on the slope of the Aventine at the instigation of the Sibyl as far back as 495), outside the *pomœrium*, and there Apollo remained till Augustus brought him to the Palatine and set him up between Latona and Diana as a rival of the old celestial Triad on the Capitoline hill opposite.

The influence of this early Apolline centre can scarcely be overestimated. It was within its precincts that "Rome's early dramatic performances were given," and hence also spread a knowledge of Hellenic cults and rites which gradually reshaped Rome's religious practices, and was certainly not without influence on the arts.

§ 15. *Decline of Etruscan Power: the Fall of Veii.*—Thus as the star of Greece rose, that of the Etruscans began to pale. Somewhere before 388, the date of the Gallic invasion, the Etruscans went out of Rome. Legend says in 510; but the expulsion of the Tarquins, represented by later historians as taking place in that year, probably meant nothing more than a movement among the ruling classes, followed by a change of government. The Etruscans loosened their hold over Rome by slow degrees in order to defend their original territory against the inroads of the Celtic tribes from the North; but their influence lasted down to the Gallic catastrophe, long surviving their political rule, and making itself felt by the side of the Greek.

The final conquest, in 396 B.C., of the beautiful and prosperous Veii after a war of ten years' duration, meant the absorption by Rome of fresh Etruscan elements rather than their destruction. Had not the miraculous image of the great Veientine goddess by inclination of the head—or, as some assert, by actual speech—graciously signified her willingness to move her seat to Rome? and had not the Romans transferred her with every pomp of ceremony and every mark of honour to a new and glorious temple on the Aventine? At the same time the fall of Veii also betrays the workings of Sibylline influence, for the victory was attributed to the protection of the Delphic Apollo, to whom a tripod of gold was sent as thank-offering. Already the god of light was working in a thousand mysterious ways for the destruction of Rome's enemies

and rivals, that in time the city by the Tiber might become the seat of the arts over which he presided. But all this was not yet.

Meanwhile at Rome arts and crafts were still largely in the hands of the Etruscans; a street on the East of the Capitol was called the Vicus Tuscus, after the Etruscan artisans who lived in its crowded neighbourhood; their name clung to the north bank of the Tiber:

> "Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
> Litore Etrusco violenter undis
> Ire deictum monumenta regis
> Templaque Vestæ."

This bank was still called after the Etruscan Veii as late as the principate of Vespasian, as we learn from the phrase *ripa veientana* inscribed upon two terminal cippi (C.I.L. vi. 31547, 8*b*); and the proudest boast of Mæcenas, friend of the emperors and poets who made the Roman Empire, is that his race is sprung from the loins of Etruscan kings.

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Giglioli, G. Q., *Not. Scav.*, xxii., pp. 179–263 (Faliscan necropolis at Vignanello). Holland, L. A., "The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times" (*Papers and Monographs of the Am. Acad.*, 1925).

[1] Cultrera believes the Etruscans to be a conquering minority, responsible for the introduction into Italy of new Græco-Oriental influences, which the older Italic inhabitants absorbed into their culture, the culture remaining essentially Italic. I have not been able to avail myself of this paper for Chap. II, nor of the papers read at the Etruscan conference held at Florence last year, which are only just published (see *Studii Etruschi*, Vols. I and II, 1927.) Still less could I make use of the papers —many of them of the highest importance—read at this year's (1928) Etruscan conference.

FIG. 34.—PONS ÆMILIUS AND TEMPLE OF ÆSCULAPIUS.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE FALL OF VEII AND THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GAULS TO THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. GROWTH OF GREEK INFLUENCE

§ 1. *The Fourth Century: the Gallic Siege and the Rebuilding of Rome—Temples—Walls and Roads—The Roman Coinage.*—An event now took place which was to prove of paramount significance in the history of Rome and of its art. At the beginning of the century the Gauls, who had long proved troublesome to the Etruscans north of the Tiber, began to menace the Roman territory. In 388 they took and sacked Rome, whose inhabitants are said to have deserted her, so that the Romans, after their return, had to set about rebuilding their city on a grander and more solid scale. The Gallic siege is thus held to have marked the real beginning of the Urbs, and to have had the same consequences for the buildings of Rome as the Persian invasion for those of Athens. But while the whole Acropolis bears witness to the splendour of Athenian art in the fifth century, the Rome rebuilt by its citizens after the Gallic catastrophe has left fewer traces of itself than any other, and we are thrown back upon the annalists and the historians for a picture of its monuments, a picture which research does not, however, confirm in every particular. Rome, in matters of building, has been compared to a palimpsest, but it is one of which the original script is often hard to decipher. The destruction of the city had possibly

not been as thorough as it is represented by the historians. From a passage in Cicero (see p. 5, note) we gather that in the first century B.C. Rome was still a place of narrow tortuous streets, of lanes and crowded passages, of tall buildings, with no leading design. Neither after the Gallic catastrophe nor at any other period of her history was Rome as a whole built on any regular system; we have already seen that this was in large measure due to the undulations of her hills, and in 388 there was no time in which to think of town-planning. In many instances those who had left their old homes returned to them, while others had probably never left them at all. Thus many streets remained much as they had been, and rebuilding would be conducted piecemeal and probably confined to isolated monuments. Here again we may establish a comparison with Athens, of which it has been said that, "alike in the days of Themistocles and Pericles and in all its later history, Athens was an almost Oriental mixture of splendid public buildings with mean and ill-grouped houses" (HAVERFIELD).

In this respect Rome probably never altered appreciably, though under the Emperors, and especially under Nero (p. 175), as we shall see, large patches were reclaimed, which were artificially levelled and planned on a regular pattern.

Attention was first bestowed on the temples of the gods. We hear of the temple of *Juno Regina* on the Aventine, begun in 392 B.C. to lodge the famous Veientine goddess, and either not destroyed in the Gallic catastrophe or finished after the return of the Romans; of a temple of *Mars Ultor* outside the Porta Capena, vowed in 388 B.C. at the most critical time of the Gallic invasion; of the first temple of *Concord*, put up in 366 B.C. to commemorate the reconciliation of the Patrician and Plebeian orders effected by the Licinian laws; but all these have disappeared under later rebuildings. Of the later temple of *Juno Moneta* on the Arx, vowed in 344 B.C. by Lucius Furius Camillus, one terra-cotta antefix seems to be all that remains. It was naturally a time of great engineering activity, when city walls had to be restored and roads to be made. Of the post-Gallic walls, long stretches may still be seen at various points; by the railway station, for instance, where a section nearly 300 feet long is still standing; but of the numerous gates there are no traces that can be pointed to with certainty. Of prime importance are the great roads which, from the fourth century onwards, were constructed to connect Rome with her annexed territories and to facilitate commerce. The Via Latina, probably the oldest road, purposely called *Via* in distinction to the old tracks between Rome and the Alban Hills, is contemporary with the gradual establishment of

the Latin league, and seems to have been finished as early as 370 B.C.; of the beautiful tombs that bordered it we shall have occasion to speak later on (Vol. II., p. 126). The *viæ* are among the great gifts bestowed by Rome upon the world. As works of engineering they may appear to have little to do with our subject, but it was along their paved tracks[1] that travelled the currents of civilization—of art and religion and trade—to be absorbed and transformed and then disseminated anew over the world. The common comparison of a road to an artery is eminently true in this instance, for the Roman *viæ* are like the arteries of a living organism that carry blood to the heart and back again to the whole body. The road system soon spread from the neighbourhood of Rome to the whole of Italy, till under the Empire the Orbis was covered with its network. The roads, we must always remember, made possible the early advent of Christianity to Rome, its centralization in the Eternal City and its rapid diffusion. Here again art was the gainer: the pilgrim roads of mediæval Italy, following the ancient tracks closely if not always exactly, became the great thoroughfares of art and civilization in the Middle Ages.

FIG. 35.—ROMAN BRONZE AS.
(British Museum.)

§ 2. *Greek Influence and the Roman Coinage—The Samnite Wars, 343–290* B.C.—*Campanian Influence—The Via Appia—The Capuan Mint—The Temple of Salus—The Castrum of Ostia.*—Greek influence continued to increase everywhere; in the dearth of monuments the earliest coinage of Rome bears ample testimony to its persistency. The circular bronze pieces (*æs grave*) coined within the first mint (*moneta*) erected within or close to the precinct of Juno on the Arx, though essentially Roman products, betray, rough though they be, a certain Greek influence in the heads of the obverse (Janus for the AS, Fig. 35; Minerva, Jupiter, etc., for its denominations). The design of the reverse, the prow of a ship, is thought to have a direct allusion to the victory of Antium (338 B.C.), which had

[1] It has been acutely remarked that the fitting of the blocks of lava to make a continuous road was practically an art, for the road might be described as stone masonry laid flat.

been commemorated in the Forum by affixing the beaks of the enemy's ships to the Orators' platform, hence called the *Rostra*. Antium indeed had ended the great Latin war. The prestige of Rome, so shaken by the Gallic catastrophe, was restored; the old Latin league was now dissolved, and Roman hegemony established in its place. Of all this these rude coins remain the sole visible monuments.

The Samnite wars, which lasted with short intervals from 343 to 290 B.C., were of incalculable significance for the subsequent development of art in Rome and Italy. They were fought to uphold the ideals of the city state against tribal organization. To quote Niessen and Furtwängler, Rome stands out in this conflict as the champion of civilization against the feudal system of the clans. Her victory, which meant the Latinizing of Italy, was also to bring the Latin civilization into close and direct contact with that of Greece, and the process of Greek infiltration made itself felt from the first. The struggle with Samnium was ostensibly for the possession of the rich and fertile plain of Campania, which had long attracted Greek traders and thus become thoroughly Hellenized.

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 36.—MASONRY CARRYING VIA APPIA.

Campania's splendid capital, the Etrusco-Greek Capua, *urbs amplissima atque ornatissima*, had from an early date been connected with Rome by the Via Latina. A securer communication more to the west was established in 312 B.C. by the opening of the Via Appia, proudly called *regina viarum*, and constructed under the censorship of the famous Appius Claudius Cæcus in 312 B.C. It was primarily a military road, but it was also intended to bring Rome into direct communication with Campania and thence with the Adriatic coast and the East. It thus became the main thoroughfare by which commerce and civilization penetrated to the Urbs. The imposing masonry that carried the Via Appia over irregular stretches of country can still be admired in its primitive grandeur at various points, as in the dip below Albano (Fig. 36). We may note that investigations at the fifth mile of the Via Appia have tended to reveal traces of tombs older than the way itself, belonging possibly to the

old pre-Appian track that led to the Alban hills. The tombs of the Appian Way, so many of which are still extant, are among the most famous of antiquity. One of the earliest, immediately outside the Porta Capena, is the still extant Sepulchre of the Scipios, whose famous sarcophagus will be described in connection with the third century.

It is with the opening of the Via Appia that certain authorities connected till recently the coinage that represents the reform of the Capuan mint under Roman influence. One of the types has on the obverse a head of *Roma* wearing the Phrygian helmet, and on the reverse an archaic wheel of six spokes "ingeniously explained as a symbol of the internal communication which was established between Rome and Capua by the completion of the Appian Way. It thus forms a sort of parallel to the prow on the Roman *æs grave* which symbolized the newly acquired command of the sea" (Hill). Other fine designs occur on the quadrilateral bronze bricks (so-called *æs signatum*) displaying the Roman eagle with outspread wings, holding the thunderbolt of Jupiter; on another we see an ox (Fig. 37) to commemorate the victory of Sentinum in 295 B.C. which finally broke the Samnite power; on yet a third, an elephant appears in allusion to the victories over Pyrrhus of the year 275 B.C. These fine pieces show the influence of Greece in the fresh observation of nature. Finally, we must notice the beautiful head of *Roma* wearing the leather Phrygian helmet on a didrachm of the year 312. On the reverse is a figure of Victory bearing the palm, from which a crown hangs by a long ribbon.[1] It has recently been shown that these coins were struck in Rome rather than in Capua; a theory which confirms what we shall have to say later on of the excellency of bronze work in the capital from the end of the fourth century onward.

FIG. 37.—ÆS SIGNATUM.
(British Museum.)

[1] But see the recent important paper by H. Mattingly quoted in the Bibliography.

The century closes with the erection in 302 B.C., towards the end of the second Samnite war, of the temple to Salus, near the Porta Salutaris on the Quirinal. Of this as of other temples of the period practically nothing is left. But outside Rome—at Ostia—we have traces of an important building of the fourth century in the *castrum* (ab. 350 B.C.), remains of whose *enceinte* with its four gates have recently been recovered under the Augustan Forum. It is the earliest instance of a permanent fortress near Rome, and was erected for the protection of the city from danger at the river mouth. It illustrates, moreover, a further application of the Italic quadrilateral principle of construction to architecture.

§ 3. *The third century to the Fall of Tarentum—Temples of Æsculapius and of Venus.*—Now, as before, oracles were active in establishing fresh links with Greece. For example, the temple of the Greek god Æsculapius on the island of the Tiber (Fig. 34) belongs to the early part of the century. In 293 B.C., in consequence of an outbreak of the plague, the Sibylline books had ordered the sacred snake of Æsculapius to be fetched from the god's temple at Epidaurus. The snake came willingly, it is said, and swam to shore on the very island of the Tiber which, according to the legend, had been formed of the heaped-up corn thrown into the river from the field of the Tarquins. Here then, on the site which the snake had marked for his own, precisely where now stands the church of S. Bartolomeo, arose the temple which was dedicated on the 1st January, 291 B.C. In virtue of its direct connection with Epidaurus, the temple was significant of the Greek influences that were spreading towards Italy at this time. To commemorate the voyage of the sacred snake, the island itself was artificially banked up to imitate a ship travelling up stream. A travertine wall, shaped like a poop, was carved on the side facing the left bank with an effigy of Æsculapius—now much mutilated—holding staff and caduceus. Further up is the head of an ox; the scanty remains are still visible in the garden of the Franciscan Friars Minor who serve the modern hospital of S. Bartolomeo. Of the temple itself there are even fewer traces, though its holiest spot, the healing well of the god, may still be made out on the steps below the modern altar.

It was in the same year 293 that there was first established in Rome, in a temple near the Circus Maximus, a cult of Venus (Livy, x. 31, 9), the goddess who as *Æneadum genitrix*, at once protectress of the Trojans and ancestress of the Romans, added one more link to the invisible chain that bound Rome to Hellenic culture.

The victorious close of the Samnite wars left Rome in undisputed

possession of the coveted Campanian territory. It only remained to destroy Greek prestige in Southern Italy; this was accomplished in 275 B.C. by the fall of the powerful city of Tarentum and the departure of King Pyrrhus. The will of the Sibyl was being fulfilled, and there is no surer proof of the position achieved by Rome in the Mediterranean world than the embassy which the brilliant and artistic Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to open relations with her in 273 B.C. Apart from its political significance, the embassy has been well described as "opening the door to Hellenistic institutions and manners,"—the result of Rome's mastership of Italy. It meant the definite triumph of the city state as the basis of civilization; and it also gave a first opportunity for the true expansion of Western European art. Had the city now enjoyed a long period of peace, art might have developed more quickly than it actually did. But the genius of Rome had still to mature in a series of struggles, the greatest of which, the conflict with Carthage, dominates the third century as the Samnite wars the fourth.

§ 4. *The Third Century* (contd.) *and the Carthaginian Wars—Temples of the Forum Holitorium—Temples of the Magna Mater, and at Gabii—Censorship and Buildings of Caius Flaminius—The Via Flaminia—Sepulchre of the Scipios.*—The new era of wars opened in 265 B.C. with the first phase of the long conflict with Carthage, and a number of Roman temples were built in fulfilment of vows made in battle or in obedience to the injunction of the Sibyl in the hour of danger. The three temples inside the Forum Holitorium, or ancient vegetable market, form a group representative of the period. The southernmost and oldest of the three, which is of the Doric order, has been recently identified as the temple of Spes (Hope), built in 258 B.C. during the first Punic war, in accordance with the vow of Atilius Calatinus. The second and northernmost, near the Theatre of Marcellus, of the Ionic order, generally identified with the temple of Janus, was vowed by C. Duilius, the hero of Mylæ, in 260 B.C.; and the central temple, likewise Ionic, is now thought to be that of Juno the Saviour (Sospita), vowed by C. Cornelius Cethegus in 197 B.C. during the Insubrian war, and dedicated in 194 B.C.[1] Considerable remains of all three

[1] Authorities seem to be agreed as to the central temple being that of Juno Sospita, the ancient goddess of Lanuvium, but there is still uncertainty as to the temples on either side. Lugli (*Zona Archeologica di Roma*, p. 236 ff.), the most recent writer on the subject, inclines to see in these the temples of Janus and of Dis Pater, but without precising which was which. A temple of Dis Pater—probably identical, according to Lugli, with the temple of Summanus mentioned by Ovid (*Fasti*, vi., 275) was erected in 278 B.C. at the time of the war against Pyrrhus.

temples exist in or about the church of S. Nicola in Carcere, but as they are of travertine, a material little used till the period of Augustus, what we now see probably belongs to a first-century restoration. In the case of the temple of Spes, however, it is interesting to note that its severe archaic forms were carefully imitated by the restoring architects. The profile of its Doric columns is of the utmost simplicity and severity. The stone, however, was only the carcase, and more detailed mouldings were filled in afterwards with the help of stucco, a method invariably followed in temples not built of marble. In fact all three temples were undoubtedly coated with stucco: its creamy tone, its smooth texture, its luminous quality imparted effects of unparalleled beauty. It seems improbable, however, that the stucco should have been left uniformly white; not only would the influence of the coloured fictile decorations of so many Latin temples tell against this, but in Greece itself temples built of *poros* stone were brilliantly coloured as well as stuccoed; even the pure marble of the Parthenon was enlivened by touches of colour.

(B.S.R.)

FIG. 38.—RELIEF OF CLAUDIAN DATE. (Museo Capitolino.)

Another temple to be considered is connected with one of the most sensational events of the second Punic war. In 205 B.C., at the most critical period of the Carthaginian conflict, the Sibylline books counselled the Romans to fetch from Pessinus in Asia Minor the black conical stone of Cybele, the great mother of the gods, the *Magna Mater Idæa*. The sacred object was lodged at first in a temporary shrine, then in a temple which has been identified with the picturesque ruins within the ilex grove on the western spur of the Palatine. The temple was twice destroyed by fire and entirely rebuilt by Augustus in A.D. 1, in so thoroughgoing a manner that in his account of his *Res Gestæ* the Emperor actually says, *ædem Matris Magnæ . . . feci*, an expression difficult to justify, seeing that the materials used in this restoration—peperino coated with stucco—were apparently those of the original structure. It is evident that Augustus, with his love of the archaic both in religion and art, wished the temple to retain its earlier form. Paullus Æmilius, the consul of 50 B.C., did the same when he rebuilt the basilica named after his ancestor.

The incident of the Vestal Claudia Quinta, who vindicated her virtue by bringing to shore the vessel that bore the sacred stone, was presumably commemorated in some great votive picture. We may have an echo of this in a relief of the Capitol Museum dedicated by one Claudia Syntyche in honour of her sainted namesake (Fig. 38). The relief is of Claudian date, when there was a notable revival of the cult of the great Mother, as there was again under Antoninus Pius; and as late as the reign of Julian we hear of bronze reliefs that represented the whole story.

The installation on the Palatine of the cult of the Magna Mater had a political significance which has not escaped historians. "Just as Juno of Veii," writes J. L. Myres for instance, "had set her seal upon the conquest of her city by accepting the invitation of Camillus, so with the Great Lady of Asia, the Mother of all the Gods, dwelling visibly in Rome, the ultimate victory of the Romans over all the world who worshipped her would seem to be foreordained."

It is possibly to 200 B.C. or a little earlier that we should date the beautiful temple of Gabii near Rome, the well-preserved cella of which is still standing (Fig. 39). The back wall projects on either side to meet the edge of the podium, while along the front and sides ran a row of slender columns placed wide apart and supporting a wooden architrave with terra-cotta facings. This temple, which is built of the local tufa (*lapis gabinus*), is interesting as showing the persistence of the older Italo-Etruscan manner at a time when Hellenistic influences were dominating the art and architecture of the capital. The semicircular flight of steps below the S.E. or principal end of the precinct apparently represents the upper tiers of theatre seats. Thus Gabii offers a first combination of theatre and temple such as Pompey developed when he decided that his own theatre should form the approach to a temple to Venus. The manner in which the theatre is made into the monumental approach to the temple should possibly be traced back to the influence of the famous architect Hippodamus of Miletus, whose theories as to the relation of buildings one to another so powerfully influenced ancient town-planning. Hippodamus had designed the harbour city of

[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 39.—TEMPLE OF GABII.

Piræus on his own system in the Periclean period. The Athenian colony of Thurii in Magna Græcia was likewise held to be his creation. From Magna Græcia these Hippodamic influences would travel up to Latium, and coalesce with the principles of ancient Italic *castrometria*. Gabii on the other hand, offers one of the earliest examples of a rectangular temple precinct—a Roman or Italic feature which is in sharp contrast to the irregular precincts of Greek temples.

The censorship of C. Flaminius, who afterwards perished as Consul in 217 B.C. in the heroic disaster of Trasimene, is—like that of Appius Claudius nearly a century earlier—memorable for great public works. On the South side of the Campus Martius he built, in 221 B.C., the Circus Flaminius. Its memory survives in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, so called from the shops which, during the Middle Ages, were lodged in the dark arcades of the circus till in the sixteenth century the palatial residences of the Mattei and the Caetani destroyed or perhaps only concealed the last traces of the ancient building.[1] In point of fact, one or two pillars of the lower arcade were still visible till a few years ago; and from drawings by artists of the Renaissance, when a great part of the circus was still standing, we learn that it was in three tiers of superposed arcades. These apparently exhibited even at this early date the same decoration by means of engaged columns and entablatures which became so characteristic of Roman public buildings. As opposed to the arena for gladiatorial shows, which, like the shows themselves, is of Campanian origin (Vol. II., p. 51), the circus, primarily designed for chariot and horse races, is an essentially Roman building and is little known outside the capital. The circus of Flaminius, moreover, is of importance as having apparently been built of stone from the first, though it was not till the days of Cæsar that the older and greater Circus Maximus (of which only the *carceres* had been permanent since 329 B.C.) was transformed into a solid structure of stone. The Via Flaminia also, which opened communications with the North as the Via Appia had done with the South, was begun in 220 during the censorship of Flaminius. It left Rome from a gate in the old Servian wall, now generally identified as the Porta Fontinalis. Like the Appian, it was a coveted place of burial. Not far from the gate was the beautiful first-century tomb of Bibulus (p. 84), still to be seen in the Piazza Venezia to the left of the Monument of Victor Emmanuel. The first stretch from this point was in a straight line that coincided exactly with that of the modern Corso; the two circular churches

[1] It seems, however, that what little remains, belongs to later restorations. Ashby, *s.v.* "Circus Flaminius" in *Top. Dict.*

where the Corso now enters the Piazza del Popolo actually cover the site of two ancient Flaminian tombs. The various bridges over which the road is carried to Ariminum are of great beauty; but what now exists, like the great bridge of Narni, is of later date, and even the Milvian bridge (Fig. 40) belongs to a second-century restoration.

[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 40.—PONS MULVIUS (PONTE MILVIO).

An allusion at least must be made to the walls of cities near Rome: those of *Falerii Novi*, for instance, with their two beautiful gates, the Porta del Bove and the Porta di Giove (Fig. 41), so called from the figures on their key-stones. The new Falerii had been built by the Romans for the inhabitants of Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana) when this city, one of the last strongholds of the Etruscan league, had been destroyed in 241 B.C. The enclosure is almost complete, and here, but a few miles from modern Rome, we may recapture an image of a Roman town of the third century of the Republic.

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 41.—GATE OF FALERII NOVI.

The tomb of the Scipios, referred to above, is datable to the first half of the third century and strikingly illustrates the tendencies of the period. The modest archway of the entrance, familiar from Piranesi's print, is of peperino. Above it is an entablature supported on Attic pilasters, once coated with stucco. There was a second storey above ground which has now totally disappeared. The best preserved of the sarcophagi (for the Gens Cornelia was among the families who claimed the right of inhumation as an ancestral privilege, after incineration had become general), long

since removed to the Vatican Museum (Fig. 42), bears the epitaph of *Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus*, the Consul of 298 B.C., the ancestor of those famous Scipios who besides being great statesmen and soldiers were also distinguished philhellenes. The sarcophagus is in the shape of a huge rectangular altar adorned with a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes filled with rosettes, while elegant Ionic volutes crown the lid. The material, a grey peperino, was probably stuccoed and painted. The Hellenic affinities are obvious. The exact architectural counterpart of the Scipionic sarcophagus may be seen in an altar in the Museum of Syracuse, and the same forms appear at a later date in the altar in front of the temple of Zeus Meilichios at Pompei. Of similar shape and style is the altar to the unknown god on the Palatine dedicated "to god or goddess, whichever it be," restored according to the inscription by the Prætor Sextus Calvinus, probably about 100 B.C., after an original of unknown date. With this Hellenistic form of altar it is interesting to compare the perfectly plain Italic bases of peperino with the famous inscription HERCOLEI SACROM, dedicated to Hercules by Marcus Minutius in 218 B.C. It is now in the Museo Mussolini, together with other examples of early Italic art. Towards the close of the century the fall of Capua in 212 B.C., followed in 209 B.C. by the second capture of Tarentum, which had revolted from Rome to Hannibal, gave to Rome undisputed mastery over the two richest art-centres of the Peninsula. It was from Tarentum, we may suppose, that Marcellus brought the statue of Victory which, under Augustus, was placed in the Senate House (p. 128).

FIG. 42.—SARCOPHAGUS OF SCIPIO BARBATUS. (Vatican).

There are few phases of Roman history more attractive to the student of art than the third century. The young city state in growing consciousness of its power, and dimly divining its great future, was endeavouring at the same time to create an art of its own with the help of the best models. The words of the old poet

quoted by Cicero are as true of the artistic as of the literary effort of the period: "*Punico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.*"

§ 5. *The Second Century and the Growing Influence of Greece—Macedonian and Greek Wars—Pergamon—Roman Dominion in Egypt—Roman Influence in Greece—Greek Architects in Rome—Philhellene Aristocracy and Patrons of Art—Temples, Basilicas and other civic Buildings—Aqueducts, Bridges, Porticoes and Colonnades.* —The second century was rich in political events that strongly influenced the trend of art. The conflict with Antiochus the Great at the beginning of the century eventually led to the reduction of a part of Asia Minor in 189 B.C. The treaty with Egypt of the year 173 was a first step towards establishing Roman dominion in both Syria and Egypt. The year 146, which saw the Macedonian Greek wars end with the annexation of Greece as a Roman province, also saw the destruction of Carthage. Finally the year 133 was memorable for the legacy to the Roman people of the kingdom of Pergamon, for a century the most fertile of the Hellenistic art centres. Thus in the second century Rome, who had so far known Hellenic influence mainly through Magna Græcia, came into direct contact with the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Asia and Greece. To a young race with ideals still immature, but realizing to the full the value of art as an asset in a nation's culture, this effect was overwhelming: for a time, it is true, the inevitable result was to check growth from within and to substitute for it that imitation of the artistic forms of older countries which threatened on occasion to be the bane of Roman art. This philhellenism of the Romans verged at times on sentimentality, but it was part of a deliberate policy by which they strove to rid themselves of the stigma attaching to them as *barbari* or outsiders. They believed that by entering the charmed circle of Hellenic culture their prestige would be a hundredfold enhanced, and we have already indicated that their adoption of the Sibyllo-Apolline books was the first step in this direction. Even at the height of their enthusiasm for Greece they had sufficient good sense or good taste not to seek to identify themselves with the Greeks, but clung to the faith in their destiny as descendants of Troy. So when Q. Flamininus is crowned as *liberator* at the Isthmian games of 196 B.C., he does not boast that he is descended from Achilles or Agamemnon, but calls himself for the occasion *Æneades Titus*.

Interacting Greek and Roman influences early made themselves felt in Greece itself. In 174 B.C. the Syrian King Antiochus IV, a

fervent patron of Athens, offered to complete on its Peisistratean foundations the Olympieion or Temple of Zeus, summoning for the purpose the Roman architect Cossutius. In 167 B.C. a monument was put up at Delphi by Æmilius Paullus to commemorate the victory of Pydna. This was a tall rectangular pillar, 11 m. high, adorned with a little frieze representing battle episodes (Fig. 43). It carried the equestrian statue of the victorious Roman, statues of whom also crowned the columns which the conquered Perseus had prepared as pedestals for his own effigies.

[*Arti Grafiche.*

FIG. 43.—MONUMENT OF ÆMILIUS PAULUS. (Restoration in Terme Mus.)

In Rome there had been a fresh influx of Greek cults at the beginning of the century, while, under the stimulus of war, many ancient Roman cults were restored. In 191 B.C. Acilius Glabrio, at the battle of Thermopylæ, where he defeated Antiochus the Great, vowed a temple to *Pietas*, which was erected on the east side of the site of the later Theatre of Marcellus. The temple was dedicated by his son in 184 B.C., when a gilded statue (the first it is said, of its kind in Rome) was set up to the founder. The Temple of Venus as Erycina near the Porta Collina, vowed in the Ligurian war of 184 B.C. (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv., 871), marked another effort to connect Rome with Trojan Æneas (Virg., *Æn.*, v. 759). Later in the century Q. Cæcilius Metellus, in honour of his triumph of the year 146 B.C. at the close of the Macedonian war, commissioned the Greek architect Hermodorus of Salamis to build in honour of Juno Regina and of Jupiter Stator the two first marble temples of the Urbs. They stood within an enclosure—the *Porticus Metelli*—which was rebuilt under Augustus and renamed after the Emperor's sister the *Porticus Octaviæ*. The temple of Jupiter was peripteral, with six columns at the front and back and eleven at the sides; the few remains visible, which include three fluted columns with Corinthian capitals from the temple of Juno in Via S. Angelo in Pescheria, belong probably to the restoration under Augustus, or possibly to that of Septimius Severus. It should be noted that within the great porticoes that surrounded the temples, Metellus arranged a real gallery of art which included

the celebrated group of Alexander and his companions. Metellus belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Rome and one closely connected by adoption with the Scipios, who, again by adoption, were connected with Æmilius Paullus; so that many of the buildings of this period were in reality due to the influence of a group of families, whose central inspiration was an enthusiastic love of Greek art and of Greek literature. It is noteworthy that about the same time that Metellus was dedicating his two marble temples, the Greeks were putting up his portrait statue at Megara (*I.G.S.*, i. 3490). Excavation or careful search in museums may yet reveal—as Studniczka has recently shown—the existence of portraits of Romans set up in Greece (see Bibl., Chap. IV).

FIG. 44.—ROUND TEMPLE BY THE TIBER.

In 138 B.C. we once more hear of Hermodorus building for D. Junius Brutus Callaicus, on the occasion of this general's triumph *de Callaicis et Lusitanis*, a Temple of Mars near the Circus Flaminius. Moreover, two famous Greek statues—a seated Mars and a Venus, both by Scopas—were placed within the temple, but the Latin element reasserted itself in the vestibule of the temple, where might be read the dedicatory inscription in Saturnian metre by the poet Accius.

The round marble temple by the Tiber (Fig. 44) was long thought to belong to this period, chiefly on account of a supposed resemblance between its capitals and those of the Olympieion[1] at Athens built by Cossutius, a Roman architect, for Antiochus Epiphanes. Quite recent authorities, however, consider that the capitals belong to the period of Septimius Severus, and suggest that what we see is a reconstruction over an old core of tufa, now concealed by a casing of eight or ten marble steps. The building thus affords one of the two examples so far known in Rome of a Greek stylobate in place of the Roman podium; the other instance being the temple of Venus and Roma planned in the second century by the architect-emperor Hadrian, who at times reverted to Greek models. The

[1] The capital supposed to have served as model seems not to belong to the Olympieion but to the Stoa of Hadrian. Gütschow, *Arch. Jahrb.*, xxxvi., 1921, p. 60 ff., and p. 66.

deity to whom the round temple was dedicated has not yet been discovered; a recent suggestion is Sol, who had a temple by the Circus Maximus (Tac., *Ann.* xv. 74). The point must remain uncertain through lack of satisfactory evidence.

Religious ardour had a rival in this century in the civic spirit which found a first expression in the embellishment of the Forum, where, in imitation of the great cities of Asia Minor and of Magna Græcia, large basilicas were now erected for the transaction of business. This form of building was early known to the Greeks, as, for example, in the *Stoa Basileios* at Athens; one of the earliest basilicas in Italy, earlier possibly than any Roman example, is the one at Pompei, which is commonly dated to the end of the second century B.C. The general plan of a basilica may be described as a long rectangle divided into a broad nave and narrower side aisles, by two internal rows of columns. The exterior might be surrounded with one or more colonnades, affording further convenient spaces where people could meet and discuss affairs, a counterpart of the lobby or *salle des pas perdus* of our modern law-courts. The basilican plan, long thought to have originated in Greece, has lately been shown to be more probably Persian. The nave was as a rule raised higher than the aisles and had a clerestory; the ceilings were generally coffered. In Rome the Basilica Porcia was erected by Cato the elder in 184 B.C. after his return from Greece. On the other side of the Curia, to the North of the Forum, M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, the famous censors of the year 179, founded the Basilica *Fulvia et Æmilia*, which was later known by the second name only, from the family who took the building under their sole charge. Ten years after the Basilica Æmilia had been built on the North side of the Forum, Titus Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the famous Gracchi, purchased on the opposite side the house of the elder Scipio, with the adjoining property, and erected the Basilica Sempronia on the site afterwards covered by the Basilica Julia. Finally, mention may be made of the Basilica Opimia, N. of the temple of Concord, erected by Opimius, the enemy of C. Gracchus, in the year of the great tribune's murder at the same time that Opimius restored the temple itself. These four basilicas must have impressed a new and monumental character on the centre of the Urbs. They represent a first step in the direction of regular town-planning—of the studied arrangement of monuments in relation to one another and their surroundings. Similar in character to the basilicas were porticoes such as the Porticus Minucia, erected by the Consul M. Minucius Rufus in 110 B.C. as a granary for the city, on a site near the Vegetable Market, but not yet confidently identified,

though we probably have its remains in certain pilasters walled into the later theatre of Marcellus, which belonged, it is thought, to a large portico with six naves separated by square pillars of travertine—a plan suitable to a market-place or similar building. Greek influence was still powerful; we have referred to Hermodorus as building the temples in the *Porticus Metelli;* he also appears as the architect of the new *navalia* or dockyards, remains of which still exist below the Palazzo Farnese.

Among novel architectural features at this time must be reckoned the long colonnades built in imitation of the covered streets of the Græco-Orient to afford shelter alike from sun and rain. Colonnades stretched along the quays from the Emporium to the docks and from the temple of Spes in the Vegetable Market to the old temple of Apollo by the Porta Carmentalis. These colonnades received an extraordinary development under the Empire and survived for a long time in Papal Rome, so that in the Middle Ages it was possible for processions to pass under continuous cover from the Basilica of S. Peter to that of S. Paul outside the walls.

In the second century likewise, monumental arches,—one of Rome's greatest creations and one which has had a lasting influence on architecture and decoration—make their first appearance with the arches, surmounted by gilded statues, put up by Stertinius in the Circus Maximus and in the Forum Boarium (196 B.C.; Livy XXXIII, 27, 4), and the arch put by the great Scipio on the Clivus Capitolinus (Livy XXXVII, 3, 7). Later in the century, in 121 B.C., Fabius Allobrogicus set up in the Forum an arch, scanty remains of whose tufa foundation have been identified by Dr. E. Van Deman. It is noteworthy that this type of arch rarely served to span a roadway, or as a city or enclosure-gate, but was primarily a pedestal for statues and remained so to the end. Recently the origin of these pedestal arches has been traced back to Greece, to the twin columns used to support a basis broad enough for a group and which, it is supposed, were in time coupled by an arch. In Imperial days the arch was gradually covered with reliefs and statuary, and as such influenced the decoration of the porches of Mediæval Churches and finally became an art-form of paramount importance in the Italian Baroque (see Rushforth, *Legacy of Rome*, p. 415).

The rapid development of the arch in the service of aqueducts and bridges is a notable feature of the time. In the middle of the second century Rome received her first permanent bridges of stone: the earliest, the *Pons Æmilius* immediately north of the old wooden *Pons Sublicius*, though planned in 193 B.C. by Æmilius Lepidus, was not completed till 142 B.C. It was repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt

down to the sixteenth century. On the right of its remaining arch (the Ponte Rotto) may be seen traces of one of the original piers. In 109 the *Pons Milvius* was built to carry the Via Flaminia across the Tiber, though an older bridge, wholly of wood or else of wooden planks laid on stone piers, must have been in existence as early as the road itself. One of the ancient arches of the stone structure, the first from the South, is still standing (above, Fig. 40). Similar constructions may be seen in the remaining arch of the *Aqua Marcia* to the left of the Via Latina, near the Porta Furba, belonging to the aqueduct erected in 144 B.C. by Q. Marcius Rex (Fig. 45). A distinguished American historian points out, that the successful termination of the six miles of arches of this aqueduct probably gave the Romans courage to build their first stone bridge. Bridges and aqueducts are works of engineering; but their significance in the history of art is immense, since they gave the first impetus to arched construction, and where the origin of the vaults, domes and arcadings which are among Rome's most distinctive contributions to architecture.

[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 45.—ARCH OF AQUA MARCIA.

Almost every great political movement had its repercussion in Roman art. For instance, the Temple of Concord was restored with great splendour in 121 B.C. in token of reconciliation, after the fall of C. Gracchus and the execution of three hundred of his followers. The influence on art of the triumphal pageants (p. 73) has generally been limited to the foreign pictures and statues which the victorious generals brought in their train and which were exhibited in the processions. But the triumph was also frequently marked by the building or rebuilding of public edifices, as, for instance, in 117 B.C., when L. Cæcilius Metellus *Dalmaticus* devoted a great part of the booty from his Dalmatian campaign to the restoration of the temple of the Castores, on which occasion the lofty podium was remade with a core of *opus cæmenticium* or concrete.

The second century, be it said in conclusion, is for ever memorable for the introduction of this building material. At first sight this innovation might seem to have a mere constructional value; as a fact it became in time a factor of supreme importance in the domain of art. To it we owe the magnificent systems of vaulting of the Empire which are still to-day among the wonders of the world. The exact date of the discovery is not fixed; the earliest extant monuments where the use of concrete can be certified are the podium of the Temple of Concord, which was rebuilt in 120 B.C., and that of the temple of the Castores, which was restored, as we have just seen, in 117 B.C., but, as Dr. E. Van Deman justly remarks, these examples of *opus cæmenticium* are already so perfect that the material must have been in use for some time previously.

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FIG. 46.—A ROMAN SEPULCHRAL-URN IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

CHAPTER IV

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN ROME FROM THE FOURTH TO THE SECOND CENTURIES B.C.

I. Painting

The Roman painting of this period has either been altogether neglected or else a few passages are quoted from the authors to illustrate its use in Roman triumphs or in the decoration of buildings. Yet an immense body of pictorial art was put together at this time which afterwards influenced the formation of that Imperial sculpture in relief so much studied in recent years. It is as yet difficult to distinguish very clearly between Etruscan and the different groups of Italic painting, but an attempt can at least be made to consider the few extant examples and the literary sources in chronological order.

§ 1. *The Esquiline fresco.*—The series opens with a fragment of wall painting in the Museo Mussolini. It comes from a tomb on the Esquiline and is datable to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century (Fig. 47). A first glance at the arrangement of the subjects in superposed tiers betrays Hellenic influence, though details are Italic. On the left of the topmost tier we see a crenellated city wall; an officer of high rank, wearing a high-plumed helmet and a thick military cloak thrown over his left shoulder is inscribed *M. Fannius;* he has apparently come out of the gate to

parley with another officer inscribed *Q. Fabius*, who grasping his spear in his right hand advances from the right. The accoutrement of the former is as distinctly Samnite as the name of the second is Roman. Below, the same two officers are again seen parleying, though Fabius has removed his helmet, and behind him a young man moves to the left blowing a trumpet as for a proclamation; on the right, behind Fabius, is a group of four figures. Of the lower frieze only a small piece is left, with remains of a battle scene: an officer with plumed helmet is advancing under cover of his shield, immediately followed by two soldiers. The draughtsmanship, the modelling, and the arrangement of the groups recall the Hellenizing schools of Campania, as we know them from certain painted terracottas in the Museum of Capua—one with a horseman of singular beauty; while the rich helmet of Fannius, with a long feather stuck at each side, is that of the warriors on a wall painting at Naples (from a tomb at Pæstum and presumably Samnite) (Fig. 48). There can be little doubt, therefore, that the fresco represents episodes of the Samnite war, though it would be rash to accept it as a reduced copy of certain wall paintings in the temple of Salus mentioned in literature as having been put up at the close of the so-called second war. Whether they be copies or originals, the Esquiline frescoes, in spite of their deplorable condition, retain many qualities. The colloquy between the chiefs is drawn with much spirit, and the group of soldiers behind Fabius is so skilfully massed that, as later on Julio-Claudian

FIG. 47.—GENERALS PARLEYING. WALL PAINTING FROM ESQUILINE.
(Mus. Mussolini.)
(B.S.R. Catalogue.)

FIG. 48.—WALL PAINTING FROM PÆSTUM.
(Naples.)

monuments, a few figures suffice to give the impression of a crowd. They are also the earliest surviving instance in Rome of a system of decoration by superposed friezes, which, though derived from Ionian models, became the main factor of Roman triumphal reliefs, and had its fullest efflorescence under the Empire.

§ 2. *The Paintings in the Temple of Salus* (303 B.C.).—These pictures from the temple of Salus are mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a good critic, who praises them for the precision of the drawing and the harmony of the colours, which were brilliant without being gaudy. As Dionysius lived in Rome under Augustus, and the Salus frescoes were not destroyed till the fire under Claudius, he is almost certainly describing them at first hand, and not repeating older judgments like most of our authorities. Yet we have no clue to the subject of the pictures nor are we told whom they were painted for, or indeed by whom. It is true that later the pictures were commonly attributed to one Fabius Pictor—a personage otherwise unknown to history—who apparently, in spite of his high rank, condescended to exercise the humble craft of the painter. The attempt has repeatedly been made to show that the Esquiline fragment described above is from a copy of the Salus frescoes. It is easy to suggest that the name of the painter and the edifying story attached to it were evolved out of the inscription *Fabius*, which probably would appear over the head of the Roman general, in the temple as in the Esquiline picture. At the same time the name Fabius is too common, the story too suspect to serve as basis for determining the subject of the larger temple pictures; nor is there any instance of a permanent wall painting of a purely secular or military character in an ancient temple, especially at so early a date. We should expect rather to find military exploits disguised as mythology or legend.

§ 3. *Triumphal Pictures—The Scipios—Æmilius Paullus and the Philosopher-Painter Metrodorus.*—In 272 B.C. the Consul Lucius Papirius Cursor, the hero of the third Samnite war, had a picture of himself as triumphator painted for the temple of Consus on the Aventine; and in 264 B.C., after the capture of Volsini by Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, had a similar picture of himself put up in the neighbouring temple of Vortumnus. Such effigies had a very ancient origin, as we know from the famous opening of the eighth satire of Juvenal. From this we hear that when a family boasted of a triumphator, a picture of him in full panoply and mounted on his chariot was placed among the ancestral *imagines*. These were all probably wall paintings, but about the time of the Punic wars it became the custom to represent military exploits and public events on a *tabula* or portable panel

which could be carried in procession and temporarily exhibited in some conspicuous place. These pictures made excellent war and political propaganda, and afforded unparalleled opportunities for self-advertisement. Thus we are told that Lucius Hostilius Mancinus, who was the first to enter Carthage when the city finally fell in 146 B.C., had a picture of the event exhibited in the Forum, and to the great chagrin of Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage, stood by and explained all the details—the ramparts, the fortifications, and the disposition of the troops—with a geniality that won him the consulship at the next elections. The composition was doubtless similar to that of the Esquiline fresco. This class of picture was not only useful for canvassing. Quintilian mentions the ancient custom of bringing into court pictures of the crime painted on wood or canvas, that the jury might be stirred to pity or horror by the sight. He views the practice with disapproval, not so much as an illicit means of working upon the feeling of judge and jury, but because "the pleader who prefers a voiceless picture to plead for him in place of his own eloquence must be singularly incompetent." Either the pictures were not works of much merit, or Quintilian had small faith in the emotional power of art.

The same year that Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was portrayed as triumphator in the temple of Vortumnus, M. Messala exhibited at the side of the Curia Hostilia a picture of his own victory over the Carthaginians and Hiero. Another picture, which T. Sempronius Gracchus put up in the temple of Liberty to commemorate the victory of Beneventum in 214 B.C. was an interesting departure from the more usual themes. Its subject was the public festivities offered by the Beneventines in honour of the event; and Livy's vivid description of the banquet (xxxiv. 16) and of the joyous participation of the troops may well have been inspired by the picture itself.

The brilliant group of the Scipios enriched the city with pictures painted on the occasion of their numerous victories. Thus, at the triumph of Scipio Africanus after Zama, pictures (γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα) of the principal episodes of the war followed upon "the towers . . . representing the captured cities" as we hear from Appian (8.66). After he had defeated Antiochus in 188 B.C., one hundred and thirty-five personifications of conquered cities (the number seems greatly exaggerated) followed in the triumph of Scipio Asiagenus, who, moreover, put up in the Capitol a picture of the battle, a thoughtless action which hurt his gallant brother Africanus, who had lost a son in the war. After his victory over King Perseus of Macedonia in 168 B.C., Æmilius Paullus visited Athens to find a competent tutor for his son and an equally competent painter to illustrate his

triumph: a quest in which he was fortunate, since the philosopher-poet Metrodorus, who conveniently followed both professions, was warmly recommended to him. The triumph of Æmilius Paullus is one of the most celebrated in history. We are not told what it was exactly that Metrodorus painted, though we may assume that he was responsible for those allegorical figures (*species simulacrorum*) of conquered cities that followed the triumphator's car. Similar personifications had already been seen at the triumph of Scipio Africanus; they were then in great favour, and we hear of an *Ambracia capta* that figured in the triumph of M. Fulvius Nobilior in 187, and was afterwards set up on the doorposts at the entrance of his house. They were quite certainly inspired by Greek models; the "Arcadia" in the picture of the "Childhood of Telephus" at Naples (Fig. 49) shows to what perfection the Greeks had brought those allegories of localities. The conception was thoroughly assimilated by the Romans in those pathetic versions of the captured provinces that figure on Imperial coins and reliefs.

FIG. 49.—"ARCADIA"—WALL PAINTING FROM POMPEI. (Naples.)

§ 4. *The painter-poet Pacuvius and the Frescoes of the Temple of Hercules in the Cattle Market.* —Pacuvius (born 220 B.C.), a poet who was also a painter, is thoroughly representative of his time. He was a native of Brindisi, and was thus born half a Greek, besides being on his mother's side a nephew of the poet Ennius, himself a Calabrian. Ennius, who was early noted for his ardent philhellenism, may have fired the young man's imagination with the description of his visit to Greece in 189 B.C. in the train of Fulvius Nobilior. Pacuvius, thus early imbued with Greek ideals, was readily admitted in Rome into the cultured Scipionic circle and wrote a play (*Prætexta Paullus*) in honour of their distinguished kinsman, Æmilius Paullus, who, remembering that Pacuvius was also a painter, commissioned him to decorate an *ædes æmiliana* named after him. This was a temple of Hercules *in Foro Boario*, but its precise site is unknown. Though various attempts have been made to connect it with the ancient round shrine of Hercules, also in the cattle

market, or with the round temple by the Tiber, the evidence is in both cases insufficient.

We are in the dark as to the subject of the paintings. Did they aim at representing real episodes of warfare, or were they of a religious character, or did they commemorate the victories of Paullus by means of mythological allegories? It would only be natural that the nephew of the poet who had written of Rome's descent from Troy should paint a "Fall of Troy," to suggest that the victories of Æmilius in Greece were the beginning of the long-delayed *revanche* which was to give back to Troy's descendants the hegemony wrested from Troy in a legendary past. But this is the merest conjecture.

§ 5. *Maps with Designs of Localities. Demetrius of Alexandria.*— After the conquest and final pacification of Sardinia in 174 B.C., the victorious general Sempronius Gracchus put up in the temple of Mater Matuta, a map of the conquered island, of which Livy copied the inscription, adding that upon it were represented the battles of the campaign, a method of enlivening a map not unknown to the cartographers of the Renascence. Geographical pictures soon became fashionable. Varro mentions a map of Italy put up in the Temple of Tellus which gave him and his friends occasion to discourse on the agricultural wealth of Italy, while waiting for the return of the temple sacristan on the Feast of the Sowing (*de Re Rust.*, II). And at a later date the map of Europe that gave its name to the porticus Vipsania erected by Agrippa was very probably of a similar character. The map of the ancient world known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* seems a late imitation of this type of pictorial cartography. The painting of localities for maps, and more often for triumphal pictures, was a profession in itself. We hear of one Demetrius, surnamed *topographus*, or "painter of places," who lived in Rome in the middle of the second century. He also doubtless brought in Greek influences. From his father's name Seleukos he appears to have been of Syro-Greek origin, but he had established himself at Alexandria, whence he fled probably at the time of the persecution of Ptolemy Physkon and took refuge in Rome. There he was followed by his illustrious fellow-citizen, Ptolemy VII, a fugitive like himself, who asked for the painter's hospitality at a time when rents apparently ran as high in Rome as they do now. The story indicates that Demetrius was previously known to the king, and was therefore a man of some standing. Very possibly he brought with him a great knowledge of this topographical painting acquired in Syria and Egypt, and applied it to Roman themes. In time a corpus of traditional types, including the forest, the ambush, the ford, the rampart, the camp, the river, the bridge and the pontoon, the high mountain

and the mountain pass, came into existence, which established the conventions of huge panoramic compositions such as those on the column of Trajan. The scenes represented no doubt repeated traditional types; by slightly varying the details and altering the inscriptions the same battle scenes, parleys between chiefs, groups of prisoners, landscapes and towns, did duty as representations of happenings in regions and countries as far apart as Sicily and Sardinia, or even as Spain and Greece.

FIG. 50.—THE CORSINI CHAIR.
(Rome: Palazzo Corsini.)

At the same time Demetrius was possibly something more than a simple cartographer; though we possess nothing directly attributable to his influence he may well have had a large part in the formation of that Roman school of landscape which appears for the first time in a highly developed state about a century later.

§ 6. *Religious Painting: Votive Pictures, Reliefs, and Gems.*—In a sense all art in antiquity was religious, and not least so the triumphal pictures set up in thanksgiving for victory. We hear little, however, at this time of either devotional or mythological pictures, though low reliefs akin to paintings provide us with specimens of ritual and sacrificial scenes. The superposed reliefs of the Sedia Corsini (Fig. 50) are of this class, and incidentally illustrate the religious conservatism of the Italians; it is difficult to date them earlier than the end of the second century B.C., yet they retain archaic traits and are reminiscent of the reliefs on a laminated bronze *situla* of Alpine type found near Bologna. In the present context we might also mention a class of bone-carvings of which there is a good

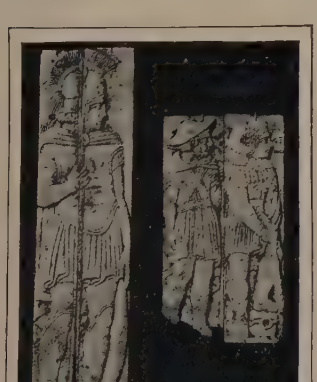

FIG. 51.—BONE CARVINGS.
(Villa Giulia.)

example in the Villa Giulia (Fig. 51); it is a box-casing, with representations of divinities standing side by side. On the other hand, votive pictures of every sort—from those put up in gratitude for election to the ædileship, to those humbler records of miraculous recoveries or escapes from peril—were as common in temples as is a similar class of pictures in popular Catholic shrines. The same kinds of subject are found upon the engraved gems which came into fashion at this time under Etruscan and Greek influence. A carnelian in the British Museum, for example, shows a girl asleep under a tree undergoing the traditional test of virginity peculiar to the cult of Juno Sospita of Lanuvium; and is probably the copy of an ex-voto put up in the Lanuvian temple by some grateful devotee who had successfully passed through the ordeal [1] (Fig. 52).

FIG. 52.—THE MAIDEN'S ORDEAL. GEM. (British Museum. Enlarged.)

Now and again if the miracle was of an extraordinary nature, like that of Androcles and the lion in the time of Tiberius, the picture was paraded through the streets for the edification of the people. Pictures of popular devotion likewise commonly figured in processions. The custom may be said to be of all times and countries. A picture of Dionysus represented in a state of mystical inebriation shocked the matter-of-fact Athenæus, who speaks with disapproval of its being carried through the Forum on its rustic cart. The artistic capacity of these painters of votive images may be gauged by the slighting tone in which Nævius (270–199 B.C.) alludes in his *Tunicularia* to one Theodotus (again a Greek), who seated in a thatched shelter painted with an ox's tail, *i.e.* with a coarse brush, figures of dancing Lares on altars of the Compitalia. Recent excavations in Delos have thrown light on the passage by revealing little votive pictures of Lares, rapidly sketched in, and though roughly executed, not without vigour and grace (Fig. 53). No wonder that Theodotus was content to paint in a rough-and-ready manner figures

[1] On the gem we clearly see a branch representing the sacred grove of Juno where the girl was made to sleep, the basket of cakes which the sacred serpent was to eat if the girl was virtuous or to leave if the reverse, and the ants who, in pity, would sometimes come and eat the cake despised by the snake, while the sacred raven watches over the whole scene. The ears of corn on the right indicate that, if the girl is pure, the year will be fruitful.

that would require renewing as often as the cross-way altars were whitewashed or replastered; no wonder either that he preferred to paint sitting in a shelter, for the time of the Compitalia was midwinter.

§ 7. *Paintings for Gladiatorial Shows and the Theatre.*—Another class of votive pictures was that painted to commemorate the gladiatorial games held on the death of illustrious personages. These pictures were often shown in public places before being dedicated and hung in a temple. The earliest instance known to history is referred to the *pietas* towards his adopted grandfather, of one C. Terentius Lucanus, possibly the brother of the patron of the philhellene poet Terence (195–159). This picture of a gladiatorial show is datable to about 100 B.C.; it was afterwards put up in the sanctuary of Diana at Aricia (Pliny, 35, 33). Though probably not the first of its kind, it was among the forerunners of those gladiatorial representations of which we have examples from the late Republican period in the Munich relief (p. 96) and from the Julio-Claudian in the relief found at Chieti (p. 172), not to speak of the countless reliefs, pictures and mosaics of secondary merit from all periods of the Empire.

FIG. 53.—RITUAL DANCES—WALL PAINTING IN DELOS.

The gladiatorial shows were likewise the occasion for a sort of poster art, much older doubtless than Horace (*Sat.*, ii. 7, 96 f.), who amusingly describes his slaves' admiration of pictures of well-known gladiators painted with red chalk and charcoal, their legs "stiffly stretched out and as true to nature as if they were really striking, fighting or parrying blows." This popular art was probably much on a level with that of the painters of Lares, though like the modern posters it may have had merits of its own.

We hear of no scene painting before the first century, and the games of Appius Claudius Pulcher (p. 108). Plautus and Terence were apparently content with a stage of Shakespearian simplicity, and relied upon the beauty or force of their verses in such scenes as the opening of the *Rudens*. It is not till the elaboration of the stage in the last century of the Republic, in imitation of Hellenistic theatres, that painted scenery was introduced, which later, according to

one school of archæology, came to be a factor of importance in the decorative schemes of Pompeian wall-painting.

With pictures of shows and games may be classed a fragment of votive relief at Ny-Carlsberg representing a mule race (at the festival of the Consualia?) (Fig. 54). The head of one mule with neck stretched out and the upper part of a group of three women are alone preserved, but it is enough to show that the style has characteristics common to later Roman art. The three women pressing against one another are made to suggest a crowd of onlookers as skilfully as does the group of huddled figures of a Julio-Claudian relief (*Sc. R.* Fig. 41, on left; cf. also Esquiline fragment, p. 56). Within the same class is a small funeral urn of rectangular shape, recently acquired for the British Museum, and referable to this date. The frieze adorning it is of unique importance; it represents two musicians leading a procession of young knights bearing palm branches towards a temple, in front of which an animal is brought up for sacrifice (Fig. 46). The type of the men's heads seems Roman rather than Etruscan; the horses' heads and movements are full of life and vigour. In the pediment there is a Typhon of Etruscan character, but here again it is difficult to draw the line between Italic and Etruscan elements. From the abundant traces of gilding, and of red paint for the horses' trappings, it is evident that the urn had much the appearance of a metal reliquary with coloured inlay. (Headpiece, Fig. 46.)

FIG. 54.—ONLOOKERS AT A RACE.
(Ny-Carlsberg.)

§ 8. *Portraiture.*—A word must be added as to portrait painting, already a flourishing art under the Republic. One of its chief products was the *imago clipeata* imitated from the ancestral heads in wax or other material inserted within a shield. This type of portrait lasted throughout the Empire, and passed into Christian art, where it is familiar on the walls and soffits of catacombs and churches from the circular bust images of Christ and of the Saints. Often the *imagines* were linked together by lines so as to form a sort of genealogical tree

in the entrance halls of the great. Rows of these portraits with inscriptions recording the name and the exploits of the person represented might also be painted in temples, as were at a later time the medallion portraits of Popes along the architrave of Christian basilicas (*e. g.* at S. Paul outside the walls). It is a moot question whether the medallion portraits of their ancestors put up by Appius Claudius in the temple of Bellona, and later by M. Æmilius called after his family, were painted or modelled. From the third or second century onwards it became the custom to portray distinguished people; it is not impossible that the medallion portrait of the poet Terence in a Carolingian MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale is directly descended from some contemporary *imago clipeata*.

§ 9. *References to Painting in the Comic Writers.*—The numerous references to paintings in Plautus alone show that pictures were an integral part of Roman life. However much Plautus may have adopted Greek models, he would not rely upon allusions to pictures for some of his most telling effects, pointed jokes, and picturesque situations had pictures not been quite familiar to his public. The farcical scene in the *Mostellaria* (l. 832 ff.) in which Tranio makes the old gentleman look round helplessly to every quarter of the colonnade for the picture of a crow pecking at two vultures, and fools him further by pretending to drive away a terrible watch-dog that was merely painted on the doorposts, are well-known examples. The *cave canem* of Pompei (Fig. 55) (though of later date and on the floor instead of on the wall) and the passage in Petronius in which Ascyltos falls straight into the pond at the sight of the watch-dog, and is promptly followed by his friend who, having always been terrified by the sight of a *mere painted dog*, now literally faints as he hears the bark of a real one, ought to have warned scholars of the absurdity of supposing that the Plautine animal was a "stuffed dog." It is clear that watch-dogs—terrific, barking and on the chain—either painted or in mosaic, were common features of Roman house decoration. They might appear on the front-door posts or in the hall to catch the eye of visitors—or thieves—immediately on entering.

FIG. 55.—DOG IN MOSAIC FROM POMPEI. (Naples.)

An interesting example of the early existence in Rome of pictures

on wax is afforded by the clause in the contract scene of the *Asinaria* (l. 767) stipulating that the girl Philænium shall be so carefully guarded from communication with the outside world that no picture on wax must be allowed near her lest she be tempted to use it as a writing tablet.—At the close of the *Captives* (l. 998) the slave Tyndarus compares the stone quarry where he has undergone punishment to pictures of hell he has seen, probably in some hall of initiation into the mysteries of the under-world. That scenes of the kind were commonly displayed in such places is evident from the stuccoes at the recently discovered Basilica near the Porta Maggiore (p. 167).—The comic reflection of the slave in the *Epidicus* (l. 626), who greatly fears his back is about to be painted in the colours of Apelles and Zeuxis—a passage intended to raise an immediate laugh—could only have turned out a frost had not the Romans known something even of the "old masters." Finally, in the *Menæchmi* (l. 144) the panel pictures of the "Eagle making off with Ganymede" or of "Venus with Adonis," anticipate the themes of Pompeian wall-paintings and may really be works of "old masters," or were they temple pictures in Rome? The spelling *Catameitos* for Ganymede which has so much exercised the learned may after all be archaic Latin like the inscriptions noted by Quintilian, and have been copied by Plautus straight from the inscription.

Terence, though later in date than Plautus, and more thoroughly Greek, has fewer allusions to painting; in the *Eunuch* we have the reflections of Chærea as he meditates on a picture of "Danaë and the shower of gold," a mythological subject in the Greek manner.

§ 10. *Paintings at Ardea.*—Now as in earlier days (above, p. 29 f.) the Latin temples outside Rome were being decorated with wall-paintings, as, for instance, that of Juno at Ardea, which was decorated by one Plautius Marcus Lykon, whose name betrays the Romanized Greek. The inscription below his pictures was in old Latin characters and is worth quoting in full:

> "Dignis digna. Loco picturis condecoravit reginæ Iunonis supremi coniugis templum Plautius Marcus, cluet Asia lata esse oriundus, quem nunc et post semper ob artem hanc Ardea laudat."
>
> To the deserving be due honour paid. The temple of queenly Juno, wife of the almighty, did Lykon adorn with paintings, even Plautius Marcus, born in wide Asia, whom for his art Ardea praises.

§ 11. *Incised cistæ and mirrors.*—The *graffiti* or incised designs which adorn the toilet caskets (*cistæ*) found at Præneste are examples of later Roman or Romano-Etruscan decoration possibly based on Greek paintings and engravings of fourth-century

date. The most celebrated of these engraved pictures adorns the Ficoroni Cista (Fig. 56), now in the Villa Giulia. As the work is inscribed in Latin characters of the third century, "*Novios Plautios* made me at Rome, *Dindia Macolnia* gave me to her daughter" (*Novios Plautios med Romai fecid Dindia Macolnia fileai dedit*), it cannot be doubted that we have here original Italic work made moreover in Rome itself. As the name of Novios Plautios is connected with Campania, the *cista*, like the Esquiline fresco, affords a link between the Roman and the Campanian schools. The scenes from the legend of the Argonauts which form the subject of the picture are in the Greek manner, but with Latin details, such as the *bulla* worn by the local divinity, or the humorous mimicry of the Silenus who beats upon his own paunch in imitation of the gestures of the Greek hero who is practicising punchball hard by. The same raciness is characteristic of certain Italic terra-cottas, and in fact of other Prænestine *cistæ* and mirrors. A good instance is the ritual dance of a young Pan and Marsyas (inscr. *Marsuas*) on a mirror in the Museo di Villa Giulia; the design is signed *Vibis Pilipus cælavit.* Philip the engraver was thus a Romanized Campanian Greek like the Novios Plautios of the Argonaut *cista* and the Plautius Lykon of the Ardea picture. Scholars have gone absurd lengths in order to prove direct copying from Greek models in this instance. But it is now

FIG. 56.—THE FICORONI CISTA.
(Villa Giulia.)

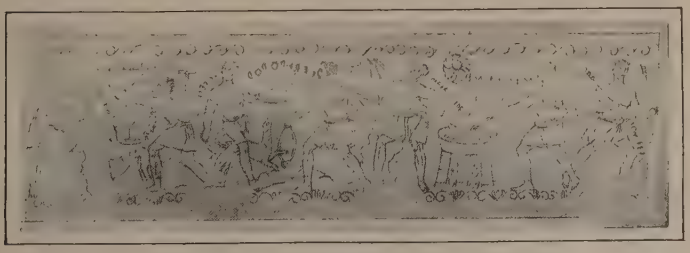

FIG. 57.—A KITCHEN SCENE—CISTA TYSZKIEWICZ.

admitted that, though the influence is Greek, it had by this time been so well assimilated that men like Novios Plautios, like the die engravers and others, produced excellent original work. Another *cista*, scarcely less beautiful than the Ficoronian and severer in style, is the one with the magnificent scene of the sacrifice of the Trojan captives at the pyre of Patroclus (British Museum: Cat. Bronzes, 638). It also brings before us, as so often, the Italic and the Roman predilection for the Trojan cycle. The homelier subjects of certain other *cistæ* illustrated another side of the Latin genius. For instance, a *cista* formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection (Fig. 57), shows a kitchen scene and the cooks hurrying to and fro with viands and dishes; it is the forerunner of the kitchen scene on the Igel monument at Trier, and is possibly itself derived from Græco-Etruscan models, *e.g.* the scene in the Golini tomb at Corneto. Similar both in subject and execution is a mirror from the same collection now in the British Museum (Fig. 58), on which are represented a girl and a youth playing at draughts; above the girl are inscribed in archaic Latin the words *deuincan ted* and above the youth *opeinor* (Bronzes B.M. 3213).

FIG. 58.—INCISED MIRROR.
(British Museum.)

II. Statuary in the Fourth—Second Centuries B.C.

§ 12. *Greek Influence—Statues to Pythagoras and Numa.*—In statuary, if anywhere, we should look for Greek influence. Here again we see the effect of Apollo's utterances in Delphi, which, like those of his Sibyl in Italy, invariably aimed at bringing Rome within the pale of the older civilizations. During the Samnite wars, for instance, the Romans in a moment of distress consulted the oracle of Delphi and were advised to set up in the Comitium a statue to the bravest of the Greeks (Alcibiades) and another to the wisest (Pythagoras). The statue to Pythagoras has an especially Sibyllo-Apolline connexion, since Apollo was the Pythagorean god *par excellence* (p. 131). An even neater link between the Roman and the Greek civilizations had already been forged by representing Numa—the wise law-giver—as the disciple of the illustrious Greek mystic, and

it is possibly to the same period as the statue of Pythagoras that we should attribute the lost original of the statue in the cloister of the House of the Vestals recently identified as Numa, the pious founder of the Vestal Sisterhood (Fig. 59). The king is shown bearded, his head encircled with the royal diadem; he is closely draped in the toga, wears senatorial shoes, and probably once held a *lituus* or augural staff in the broken left hand. The technique points to about the period of Trajan; but in spite of refashionings to suit the taste of a later period, the general line of composition retains enough of the archaic model to justify the attribution of the statue to the fourth century. The original is thought to have been one of the bronze statues of the kings that stood at the entrance of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus or, as we think more probably, the original like its later imitation stood quite simply in the cortile of the House of the Vestals.

[*Photo, Ashby.*
FIG. 59.—NUMA. HOUSE OF VESTALS.

§ 13. *Statues and Portraiture of the Period.*—It was in the third century that a famous statue was put up in the Forum which was twice copied on the well-known "*anaglypha Traiani.*" This was the Marsyas with the wine-skin (Fig. 60) that stood in the most frequented part of the Forum near the Prætorian tribunal, fenced in besides the sacred fig tree precisely as on the relief. The conception is akin to the Marsyas of the Prænestine mirror and to the Silenus of the Ficoroni *cista.* There is no reason for supposing that the work was the booty of a Greek city or Greek at all. The type is of Hellenic origin, but Italo-Roman schools that could produce artists capable of engraving these Palestrina *cistæ* and mirrors and of designing the Capuo-Roman coinage were surely equal to creating a work like the Marsyas. The statue erected in the Forum by the Thurians in 285 B.C. to the plebeian Tribune Ælius, who had been instrumental in relieving Thurii during a siege, is the first example of a statue put up in the Urbs by a foreign Power, and the statue must have been

FIG. 60.—MARSYAS. (Roman Forum.)

standing as late as the Flavian period, since Pliny (xxxiv. 32) actually gives us a copy of the inscription recording that "Aelius had carried a law against the Lucanian Sthennius Stallius, who had on two occasions molested the people of Thurii." The mention of this statue is followed by another put up, says Pliny, by the same people of Thurii to Fabricius, "who had delivered them from a siege" (282 B.C.). In style those two statues may have resembled the famous statue of the "Arringatore" (Fig. 61) in Florence which can be dated from the inscription to the period of the second Punic war. Though found at Arezzo in Etruscan territory, it is an example of a portrait midway between the old Etruscan manner and the newer Roman style influenced by Greek models. We must doubtless reckon within the same category the statue set up to himself by the poet Lucius Accius (180?–84? B.C.) in the Temple of the Camenæ (Muses) in memory of his presidency of the guild of poets, whose meeting-place was in this temple. The bronze head (Fig. 62) in the Conservatori, long famous as a portrait of the first Brutus, has recently been claimed as an Etruscan work of the period we are considering, with marked affinities in the treatment of the pointed locks of hair, for instance, to Etruscan heads of terra-cotta. The fine head, in the British Museum, of a youth wearing the *tutulus*[1] has likewise been attributed to the Etrusco-Roman art of about 200 B.C. (Fig. 63). It belonged to a statue, probably of an athlete, as the head has swollen ears. A bronze head from Bovianum, in the Louvre, recently published by Studniczka also seems characteristic of the period. The whole group is at present under revision and dis-

FIG. 61.—THE "ARRINGATORE." (Florence.)

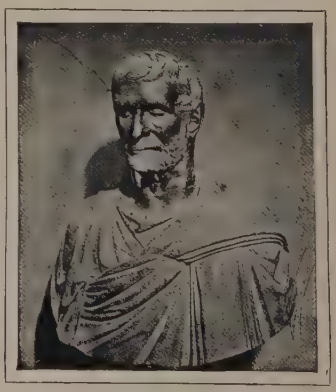

FIG. 62.—ETRUSCO-ROMAN PORTRAIT. (Conservatori.)

[1] The *tutulus* or cap worn by priests and also by athletes (for protection).

cussion. It is only fair to the reader to state that the latest tendency is towards pushing back the date of the Brutus and kindred heads as far as the fourth century B.C.

The peperino head found in the tomb of Scipio Barbatus is now dated at about the close of the second Punic war. The youth wears a laurel wreath; this had led to identifying him with Ennius, who wrote a poem in praise of Scipio Africanus and whose statue—we know from Cicero—was placed in the tomb of the Scipios; since, however, the statue was of marble and this head is of peperino, like the sarcophagus with which it was found, the identification must be abandoned. The bay-wreath points to a priest of Apollo rather than a poet; it has therefore been suggested that this is the portrait of a Scipio who became a *decemvir sacris faciundis* and as keeper of the Sibylline books was in the service of the god, or the head may simply have belonged to a Scipio represented in the act of sacrificing, and therefore wearing the festal wreath. More distinctly Greek, presumably, was the portrait statue of Cornelia, daughter of Scipio, the younger Africanus and mother of the Gracchi. The basis with its noble inscription CORNELIA AFRICANI F(ilia) GRACCHORUM (Sc. *mater*) is still extant and may be seen in the Museo Capitolino (C.I.I., vi. 2, 10043). From the long rectangular shape of the base we may infer that the lady was represented seated; and from the place where it was found, that the statue once adorned the *porticus Metelli:* of Greek character likewise may have been the portrait-statue of Flamininus the *Liberator* which stood by the Circus Maximus. Coins frequently throw light on this portraiture (Coin of Flamininus, Ber-

FIG. 63.—ETRUSCO-ROMAN HEAD.
(British Museum.)

FIG. 64.—BACCHUS.
(Museo delle Terme.)

noulli, I., Pl. I., 20). Rome was crowded with portrait-effigies, but it would be loading our text uselessly to give the lists of works known only from literature. Italic bronzes of this period are numerous and of very varying quality. For instance, the bronze statue of Bacchus in the Museo delle Terme which was found in the Tiber is only a somewhat prosaic Latin version of a Greek model (Fig. 64). A finer work, more precise in its outline, more vigorous and direct in conception, is seen in the Mars from Tuder (Todi) of the Museo Gregoriano (Fig. 65). As to the bronze votive statuettes found in considerable numbers near Rome, including the figures and groups on the handles of the Prænestine *cistæ*, one or two of which are of singular grace and beauty (Fig. 66), a number merely reproduce ordinary Greek types, others retain strong Etruscan traits, others again show new and independent characteristics. Again, the large semi-draped statuette from Falterona in the British Museum with head so individual that it suggests a portrait is one of the finest of these fourth to third century bronzes.

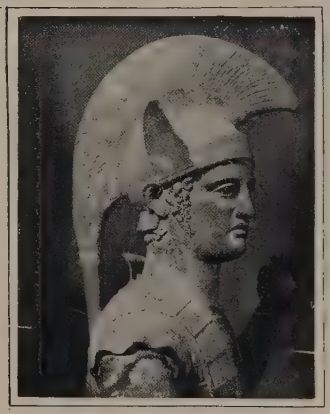

FIG. 65.—THE MARS FROM TODI (detail). (Vatican.)

Somewhat later in date are the two bronze statuettes of Gaulish warriors—one fighting, the other in repose—in the Museo delle Terme (H.A., 1724). And many images of ancient Latin divinities were set up in these centuries, doubtless in a new Hellenized form. We would give much to know the appearance of the statue of Verminus, an old *numen* invoked against worms in cattle; its inscribed base of peperino, in the new Museo Mussolini, is dated to about 100 B.C.

FIG. 66.—DIONYSOS AND SATYR. HANDLE OF CISTA. (Villa Giulia.)

§ 14. *Museums and Art Collections.*—The rapid succession of Roman triumphs, in which works of art figured as the choicest spoils of the war, were soon to transform Rome into the greatest museum of the world, a position which she has never since abdicated. The pageant had begun in the fourth century with the triumphs over the conquered Etruscans. It was resumed in 212 B.C. with the triumph of Marcellus after the siege of Syracuse. In 187 B.C. Fulvius Nobilior displayed in his triumph over the Ætolians two hundred and thirty statues of marble and two hundred and eighty-five of bronze removed from the collection of King Pyrrhus at Ambracia; of this splendour likewise, a record survives in a base of the Museo Mussolini which, as the inscription states, supported one of the statues from the Ambracian booty (C.I.I., vi. 1307). We are told that the Ambraciots sent envoys to Rome to represent the hardships of their loss and that they obtained a favourable hearing; but the Romans, more fortunate than the French after Waterloo, continued to postpone inquiry and finally dismissed the matter from their minds. Twenty years later, in 167 B.C., took place the triumphal procession of Æmilius Paullus, when it is said as many as fifty chariots filled with statues and pictures were displayed, a pageant vividly described by Plutarch. Some twenty years later again, after the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C., Mummius, according to Pliny, "filled all Rome with sculpture." On this occasion Mummius put up, among other memorials of his destructive campaign, a shrine and statue to Hercules, the dedicatory inscription of which has survived and may be seen in the Vatican (H–A, 130: C.I.L., vi., 331). In the same year 145 B.C., L. Lucullus was able to dedicate a number of works by Praxiteles borrowed, it is said, from Mummius, outside the temple of Good Luck or Felicitas. Within the temple of Mars which Hermodorus of Salamis built for D. Junius Brutus Callaicus, stood statues of Mars and Venus by Scopas, and within the porticoes that surrounded the marble temples of Juno and Jupiter in the *porticus Metelli* might be admired the most celebrated of the works of Lysippus, Alexander with his comrades at the battle of the Granicus, a bronze group brought over from Pella by Metellus in 149 B.C. The temple of the Fortune of the Day is described as crammed with works of art, among them Pheidian statues dedicated respectively by Æmilius Paullus and by Q. Lutatius Catulus, and the list could be indefinitely prolonged. By the side of the celebrated Greek masterpieces were works by lesser Greek sculptors, attracted to Rome like the architects by the report of the ever-increasing demand for works of art. Such are the statues of Apollo and the Muses from Tivoli, now in the Vatican, copies of a group whose authorship is much debated

(H–A., 263–270); and the colossal Hera of the Vatican Rotonda, in which certain scholars see a copy of the cult statue executed by Dionysius for Metellus Macedonicus (Plin. xxxvi. 35) and placed in the temple of the goddess within his *Porticus*, while others suggest that the original was the work of Polycles, also commissioned by Metellus and standing near the same temple.

The works of art exhibited at the triumphs and in the temples made visible the spirit of Hellenism in its most seductive form. But foreign influence is apt to be suspect, and the more conservative and old-fashioned among the Romans raised now and again a cry of alarm. Hostility to Greek ideas is best realized in the political and literary history of Rome. The repeated expulsion of the Greek philosophers—in 173 and 161 and again in 155—the scandalous though mysterious affair of the Bacchanalia are well-known instances of its occasional violence, and the formative arts fared no better. Cato's contempt of Greek ideas was most bitter when he spoke of the arts of Greece. These he condemned as sources of scandal and luxury and we cannot suppose that he stood alone in this opinion. But no man escapes altogether from the intellectual atmosphere of his time. Cato's asceticism has actually been shown to have its basis in Greek speculations; he who professed to scorn Greek letters yet protected the philhellene Ennius and borrowed from him the Hellenic legends of the *Æneadæ* and the foundation of Rome, while he erected apparently on a Greek or Oriental model the basilica called after him. The very vehemence of the language in which he denounces the statues brought by Marcellus from Syracuse makes us suspect that he himself was not indifferent to their charm. The Hellenic element, like the Etruscan before it, had come to stay. What was now needed was a strong unifying influence that should compel the diverse streams to flow into a single channel. At the beginning of the first century this was attempted by Sulla, who in this as in much else anticipated Cæsar and initiated that final Romanization of Mediterranean Art which was accomplished under Augustus.

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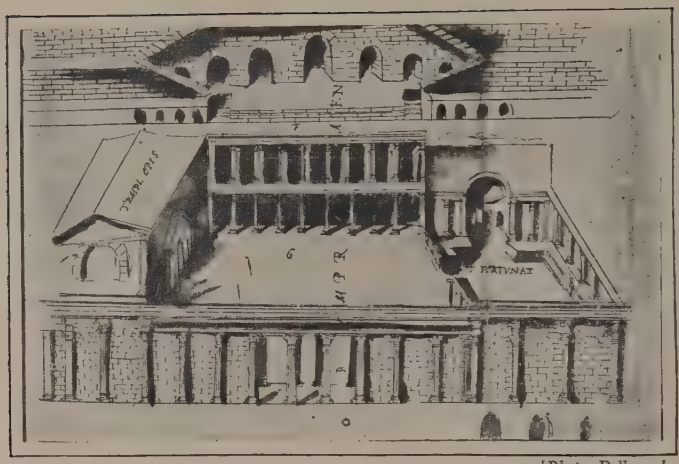


[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 67.—CENTRAL PORTION OF T. OF FORTUNE AT PRÆNESTE (COD. URSINUS. VAT. 51.)

CHAPTER V

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC—THE MASTER-BUILDERS—SULLA AND THE REPLANNING OF ROME—POMPEY THE GREAT AND JULIUS CÆSAR—HELLENISTIC INFLUENCES.

In the last century of the Republic, Greek influence and fashions seemed definitely established in Rome. Military and political operations gave the final impulse. The wars of Sulla and of Pompey against Mithridates, and Pompey's conquest of Syria opened out to the Romans that Græco-Oriental world of which only the fringe had before been accessible to them. This fresh enlargement of the political horizon was not without its corresponding effect upon art. The erection of grandiose public buildings directly imitated from contemporary or only slightly older Hellenistic models became the rule.

§ 1. *Sulla and his Buildings.*—First among the leaders of this new activity was Cornelius Sulla, the conqueror of Greece, who, though he treated Athens with drastic cruelty, showed himself a passionate lover of Greek art. During his short dictatorship he planned to rebuild Rome on the model of the great capitals he had seen in the Hellenistic East. He began with the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which had been burnt down in 85 B.C. On the ruins of the

old Etruscan temple now rose a more splendid one of marble. The roof was tiled with bronze, and the pediment adorned with a group of the Wolf and Twins. A gold and ivory statue in the Greek manner, executed by one Apollonius, replaced the old terra-cotta Jupiter; of the new statue some notion may be formed with the help of Roman reliefs and Pompeian paintings (cf. Vol. II., p. 57). The restoration of the Capitol was part of a scheme for rebuilding on a grander scale the ancient Italic shrines.[1]

In order to carry out the systematization of the Capitoline Hill Sulla decided to unite it with the *Arx;* this was effected by means of the Tabularium, which filled up the long saddle between the two summits and masked it completely on the side of the Forum. The purpose of the Tabularium, or record office of ancient Rome, was to receive the city archives and to replace the old *ærarium Saturni.* It was finished and dedicated after Sulla's death by his friend Q. Lutatius Catulus, the Consul of 78 B.C., as we learn from the inscription still to be seen engraved over the doorway of one of the chambers (C.I.L. vi. 1313).

FIG. 68.—TABULARIUM—BEFORE RESTORATION.

The Tabularium stands on a substructure 11 metres high of blocks of sperone (*lapis babinus*) probably faced with stucco, through which a corridor with rectangular windows ran from end to end; the Forum frontage has a long arcade 10 metres high, 15 metres deep, one intercolumniation of which is still visible. It seems certain that the original building had a second storey which was completely destroyed by Michelangelo for the Palace of the Senator. At the back of this imposing façade on the West were the actual offices. The general aspect of the building is clear (Fig. 68). The first storey exhibits that combination of columns or half-columns and round arch which became characteristic of Roman Imperial archi-

[1] As to the legend that Sulla robbed the still unfinished Olympieion of Athens of several of its Corinthian columns, this seems disproved by coins of the year 51 B.C. which show the Sullan temple as still of the Doric order.

tecture. The piers behind each half-column represent the end of cross partitions that unite the front and rear walls, and divide the arcade lengthwise into eleven chambers. The three varieties of vaulting for which Roman architecture became famous may be seen in the Tabularium: cloister vaulting above the chambers of the arcade; barrel vaulting over certain rooms at the back; and cross vaulting apparently over one chamber on the North side of the building. The Tabularium, besides being the only one of Sulla's buildings in Rome that has escaped complete destruction, is of great importance for its use of continuous arcading on a large and impressive scale.

Sulla also turned his attention to the Forum, where he planned new Rostra and a new Curia; but his unexpected abdication of power, followed by his death at the comparatively early age of sixty, robbed him of the satisfaction of seeing the completion of his schemes. Dr. Esther Van Deman, who has recently put Sulla in his true place at the head of the series of great men who replanned Rome on an Imperial scale, thus sums up his activities:—

> "With the passing of time the monuments of Sulla, like his name, were forgotten. The splendid temple of Jupiter, which had been his last great passion, and the Tabularium were finished by Catulus, whose name they bore. The site of his Curia was dedicated to the 'happy fortune' of another and his Rostra perished in flames in less than three decades. Is it strange that his Forum also was swept away in the rise to power of the great master-builders of the early empire; and that even its memory was lost for many long centuries?"

The fact is that in Rome itself Sulla had little opportunity of giving any proof of his ability as a town-planner; the colonies, however, which he planted all over Italy to house his veterans bear witness to his activity in this direction. The splendid Colonia Sullana of Pompeii—too vast a subject for treatment here—is the best known example; and the Ostia of the Sullan period has been disclosed by recent research. The old Ostian *castrum* or fortified citadel had developed into an *urbs* as far back as 266 B.C., but it was Sulla presumably who enclosed it within walls strengthened by towers. It is highly probable that Sulla planned to give his colonies as far as possible the regular shape with streets or avenues at right angles introduced by the adoption of the Hippodamic reforms (p. 43 f.).

A characteristic movement of the period was—as we have seen—the rebuilding of the temples. The Temple of Fortune at Præneste (Palestrina) from whose ruins we can still evoke the complete structure, is one of the architectural triumphs of the age. It was the

monument of the Dictator's victory over the Marians, and Sulla, who surnamed himself Felix and thought himself the favourite of Fortune, made it his special care, and established here another Colonia Sullana. The site itself is of unparalleled grandeur, with its ten terraces that recall Strabo's epithet of Præneste as "many crowned"; it has the halo of remote antiquity, for here from time immemorial had been a shrine to that *Fortuna Primigenia*, first-born of the gods, whose oracular fame spread far beyond the borders of Latium and competed with that of Delphi and of Dodona. Cicero has left us a classic description of oracle and shrine and of the statue of the goddess, who was represented as nursing the infants Jupiter and Juno. It is not known whether Sulla's soldiery had destroyed the ancient shrine wholly or in part during the siege of Præneste, but it is certain that after the events of 82 B.C. the temple was rebuilt on an impressive scale. The buildings on the lower and principal platforms are comparatively well preserved (Fig. 67); they consist of a long central court with what is probably the temple of the goddess on the one side and on the other the grotto where the oracles were delivered. The architecture of the rear wall of the court recalls the Roman Tabularium; the wall surfaces are broken up, but windows flanked by rectangular ornamental slabs take the place of the arcades between the columns. Above this lower pillared storey rises a second storey consisting of a series of arches resting on plain piers. The temple itself, on the right of the lower terrace, consists of a

FIG. 69.—LARGE MOSAIC AT PALESTRINA. (Detail.)

FIG. 70.—MOSAIC FROM GROTTO OF THE ORACLE. PALESTRINA.

long chamber ending in a domed apse with three large niches for the statues of Fortuna, of Jupiter and of Juno. The apse was paved with the celebrated mosaic representing scenes on the river Nile, which is now to be seen in the Barberini Palace above (Fig. 69). The side and end walls are divided into rectangular niches, separated by engaged columns; below the wall, and projecting from it, runs a podium with an elegant base moulding and a frieze of triglyphs and rosettes. On the left of the same terrace was the oracular grotto, which had an exquisite mosaic pavement representing an inland bay with fish swimming in it, and a shrine of Poseidon on the shore (Fig. 70) (Vol. II., p. 31). The terraces of the temple are in ruins, but patches of the primitive masonry connecting the lower terrace with the topmost buildings are still visible. The whole ended in a great hemicycle flanked by arcades and crowned apparently by a small circular chapel. The temple in its final form can be seen from every near point of Latium, and from the Alban and the Volscian hills. As a public monument of a grandeur rivalling the Roman Capitol it is unique in its juxtaposition of the primitive art of Latium with the Hellenic art introduced in the last century of the Republic. Italic and Italian architects are supreme masters of terraced construction: Præneste develops Alatri's platform and Norba's terraces (see p. 22), and in the Renascence becomes itself the model for Bramante's Belvedere, and for the hanging gardens devised by Luciano Laurana in the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro.

FIG. 71.—ROUND TEMPLE AT TIVOLI.

FIG. 72.—IONIC TEMPLE (LEFT) AT TIVOLI.

The Sullan Tabularium and the Prænestine temple are the two chief representatives of the new architecture. We may now glance more briefly at other monuments of the period. It is again in the neighbourhood of Rome rather than in Rome itself, where so much was destroyed by later rebuilding, that we must look for examples. Among the most striking are the temples of Tibur (Tivoli), also apparently of Sullan date. The famous round temple (Fig. 71) which, as its shape seems to imply, was dedicated to Vesta, has delicate Hellenic details, Corinthian capitals, a doorway and window with beautiful mouldings, a frieze adorned with dainty garlands and a colonnade with a richly coffered ceiling that deserve careful study. These Greek forms notwithstanding, the temple rises on a Roman podium. On the left of the round temple, and likewise in the Hellenistic manner, is a small Ionic temple *in antis* with engaged columns on three sides and a tetrastyle portico in front (Fig. 72). This type of temple, the so-called pseudoperipteros, found great favour in Rome; in a crowded city it gave the semblance of a colonnade where there was no room for a real one. The Romans seem to have borrowed the idea from such Greek models as the monument of Lysicrates at Athens, or nearer home the famous temple of Zeus at Akragas (Agrigentum = Girgenti). A well-known Roman example is the Ionic temple by the Tiber, now thought to have been dedicated to "Fortuna Virilis" (Fig. 73). The cella, like that of the small temple at Tivoli, has a false *pteron*, con-

FIG. 73.—IONIC TEMPLE BY TIBER. ROME. (Before restoration.)

FIG. 74.—CELLA WALL OF T. OF HERCULES. TIVOLI.

sisting of five engaged columns at each side and four on the rear wall (counting the corner column twice). But it differs in the deeper portico, which has an extra column on either side. This temple also rises on a podium and has the steep Roman pediment, though Greek influence is evident in the profile of frieze and cornice; the more delicate mouldings were completed in stucco, and a stucco coating was also given to the columns; the style points to the age of Sulla. The temple has recently been freed of modern disfigurements and isolated from its sordid surroundings.

At Tivoli again, on the site now occupied by the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, once rose a famous temple of Hercules, the Heracleum of Tibur, as renowned a place of pilgrimage as the Temple of Fortune at Præneste. Like the temple of Hercules in the Cattle Market at Rome, it had a circular cella; remnants of its walls built of blocks of tufa in *opus incertum* are visible immediately behind the apse of the cathedral (Fig. 74). The temple stood within a vast precinct which appears to have covered the ground between the cathedral and the plain. Its walls were faced with precious marbles, and every available space was crowded with statues. At a later date we hear of the Emperor Augustus visiting the shrine and restoring certain of its ancient privileges; to this restoration we must refer the splendid arcaded court of the *Augustales*, part of which is still standing. The resemblance of the arcades to those of the Tabularium is so marked that we may imagine the court to have been a creation of the Sullan period, while owing its present construction, of concrete faced with stucco, to Augustus.

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 75.—PLATFORM OF T. OF JUPITER, TERRACINA.

The erection or restoration of vast temple precincts was characteristic of the period. We have considered Præneste and the Heracleum of Tivoli; to these we may add as a third the temple of Jupiter at Anxur (Terracina), the huge platform of which is still visible, supported on substructures of *opus incertum* (Fig. 75). When the temple was standing there can have been little even in Asia Minor to eclipse its splendour.

Again, the little tetrastyle temple at Cora (Cori) said—but without proof—to have been dedicated to Hercules, is shown by the details of

its architecture (mouldings, the delicate triglyphs and guttæ, the lions' heads of the cornice) to belong to the same period as the monuments we have been considering (Fig. 76). But, in addition to the deep portico, the high podium and the steep pediment, it possesses a further primitive characteristic in the breadth of its intercolumniations and the slenderness of its columns—traits that recall a period when columns needed only to be light and far apart to support the comparatively small weight of a wooden architrave (Fig. 77). The temple, which stood in the midst of a colonnaded enclosure, is one of the rare examples of Roman Doric. It might appear a singular fact that the Romans made comparatively little use of the Doric—(except in decorative combinations)—though its severity seems in harmony with their genius. But the temples of South Italy had no influence upon early Roman architecture; and when Rome came under the direct influence of Greece, the period of the Doric had passed and its simple massiveness had given way to the more complicated Ionic and Corinthian of the great buildings of Asia Minor. Moreover, the Corinthian column, as v. Gerkan (p. 155) well remarks, is essentially Roman in all its rich variations, and its accentuation of verticalism harmonizes with the Roman spirit. Verticalism —the desire for height and upward movement—early made itself felt in Roman art. To it we owe the high podium which differentiates Roman from Greek temples (p. 14) and the fact that the Doric only appears as at Cori, raised upon a base, or as in the Tuscan variation. Two columns of a Corinthian temple of Hellenistic

[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 76.—TEMPLE AT CORI.

[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 77.—VESTIBULE OF T. OF TORI.

date, supposed to have been dedicated to the Castores, may also be seen at Cori (Fig. 78).

A fifth great sanctuary completely restored at this time was that of Diana by the lake of Nemi. It stood within a huge precinct or *temenos* within which were smaller shrines or chapels dedicated to Diana herself and to kindred divinities. It was then presumably that the old terra-cotta revetments were superseded by the bronze casings of which considerable fragments are now in the Museo delle Terme. Further, the fragment of a quiver seems to have belonged to a bronze or perhaps to a chryselephantine statue of the goddess within the temple. The riches of the shrine and the number of its ex-votos were alike extraordinary.

[*Photo, Delbrueck.*

FIG. 78.—CORINTHIAN COLUMN, OF PART ARCHITRAVE.

Among buildings of the Sullan period still visible in Rome we may note the sepulchral *ædicula* of C. Poplicius Bibulus situated at the foot of the Capitoline hill to the East of the Flaminian road, just outside the Porta Fontinalis. It was repeatedly drawn in the Renascence and is the subject of one of Piranesi's most beautiful prints; but is now completely dwarfed by the Vittorio Emanuele monument. Its design, decoration (frieze of wreaths hanging between ox skulls) and lettering of the inscription (C.I.L. i. 635) are all Sullan, but the name causes a difficulty: if Bibulus must be identified with the ædile of 208 B.C., we can only suppose that the little building was restored at a much later date.

FIG. 79.—ARCH UNDER PALAZZO ANTONELLI.

Finally, the walls of Rome—repaired as a defensive measure against Marius during Sulla's absence from Italy in 87 B.C.—deserve a

passing mention. It is to this reconstruction that we may attribute the well-preserved arch under the palazzo Antonelli that so long passed for one of the gates of the Servian wall (Fig. 79).

Two bridges, the *Pons Fabricius* and the *Pons Cestius*, which respectively unite the Isola Tiberina with the southern and northern banks of the Tiber, belong to the first half of the first century B.C. The *Pons Fabricius*, which now goes by the name of the "Ponte de' Quattro Capi" from the four-faced Janus heads of the balustrade, was built by L. Fabricius according to the inscription still visible upon the bridge in 62 B.C., while another inscription states that the bridge was examined and found in good repair in 21 B.C. by the consuls Q. Lepidus and M. Lollius. It has, however, been so repeatedly restored that it is difficult to make out the ancient parts. The same applies to the *Pons Cestius*, which was rebuilt in late Imperial times by the Emperor Gratian and so entirely altered in modern days that only its central arch is now ancient.

§ 2. *The Buildings of Pompey.*—The next phase of building activity in Rome is connected with the name of Pompey. After his victories in Pontus and Syria, he erected in 55 B.C. a superb group of buildings, including a portico, a curia, vast colonnades, and the famous theatre. Apart from the attempt made in 154 B.C. by the Censor C. Cassius Longinus to erect a permanent theatre, Pompey's is the first stone theatre put up in Rome. The outline on the Capitoline plan (F.U.R. 30) is too small to afford any clear notion of its shape. That it followed the ordinary Hellenistic model seems almost certain from Plutarch's story that Pompey conceived the idea of erecting it while attending a musical contest held in his honour in the theatre of Mitylene. The walls of the huge *cavea* developed conspicuous architectural features, which reappear in the theatre of Marcellus (p. 147) and the later amphitheatres. They were divided into superposed storeys of arcades decorated as a rule with Doric columns in the lowest, Ionic in the middle and Corinthian in the topmost tier, while the spaces between the columns were treated as arches, as in the Tabularium.

The splendour of the decoration and inner fittings of these theatres may be gathered from the description of the one theatre put up in 58 B.C. by Scaurus, Pompey's Quæstor in the third Mithridatic war. Its temporary character notwithstanding, 360 columns and over 3000 statues of bronze adorned, it is said, the stage alone. The lower storey of the stage-wall was of white marble, the middle was faced with glass slabs,[1] and the top with gilt panels.

[1] The glass slab, Kisa, p. 393, Fig. 193 (after Passeri), cannot, from the style of the arcading, belong to this theatre, but must be at least as late as the second century.

All, however, was not plain sailing with the innovators. Pompey's theatre attracted the opposition of the old-fashioned party, who strongly resented the introduction of non-Roman ideas. According to a story preserved by Tertullian, Pompey could only still the outcry by declaring that it merely formed the approach to the temple of *Venus Victrix* which he erected at the top of the cavea. As the temple dates from the time previous to the rupture between Pompey and Cæsar, when Pompey had to wife Cæsar's daughter Julia, its dedication to Venus, ancestress of the Julian *gens*, may mark a first step in that glorification of the Julii which afterwards pervaded Cæsarian and Augustan Rome.

FIG. 80.—PAN.
(Mus. Capitoline.)

FIG. 81.—BRONZE HERCULES.
(Vatican.)

The theatre was the special care of the Emperors, and we hear of its being repeatedly restored—the last time between 507 and 511, under Theodoric. Of the many statues and works of art that adorned this theatre and the neighbouring buildings, three have been preserved: two Pans now in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 80) (which, however, appear to be of later date and probably belong to an Imperial restoration) and the gilt-bronze Heracles in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Fig. 81). It is noteworthy that the Heracles reproduces a type of the god familiar on Syrian coins, so that Pompey may have returned from the East with this very statue, or else have had a statue he had seen in Syria copied for Rome.

§ 3. *The Buildings of Cæsar.*—The third great master builder of the century was Cæsar. During his ædileship in 55 B.C., and his consulship in 59 B.C., he had already shown his interest in art; under his short dicatorship he entirely re-planned the city. Imperial Rome, the Rome which Augustus boasted he had found of brick and left

of marble, really emanated from the brain of Cæsar; but his great schemes were cut short by his untimely death, and what he had begun was interrupted or delayed by a long period of civil war and only finished by Augustus, destined here as in much else to give visible shape to the vast conceptions of his adopted father. One of Cæsar's projects was for a new Forum to the North of the old. This was the first in the chain of Imperial Fora that constitute the Empire's most lasting contribution to the embellishment of the city. Cæsar's Forum was planned as the precinct of the temple of the Julian *Venus Genetrix*. The statue of the goddess was by the Greek sculptor Arcesilaus of Cyrene; it is known from contemporary and later reliefs (p. 96). This solemn introduction of the cult of Venus, ancient protectress of Troy, was another step in that *Trojanization* of Rome which prepared the way for Rome's spiritual hegemony in virtue of her Trojan descent, and made it possible to substitute definite Roman for borrowed Hellenic ideals. But the ancestral goddess had still to be lodged in the Augustan Pantheon and in the Augustan Temple of Mars before her naturalization was an accomplished fact. The temple was vowed before the battle of Pharsalia in 48 B.C. and dedicated after the triumph of 46 B.C. In front of it stood the bronze equestrian statue of the Dictator. Of all this splendour nothing remains but some tufa and travertine blocks of the outer walls, and a few architectural fragments now in the Villa Medici. Within the Forum was a fountain decorated with statues of nymphs. surnamed the *Appiades*, to which we shall return later (p. 100). Cæsar likewise attempted to give a rectangular plan to the Roman Forum by placing the Rostra at its upper end, flanked by the two basilicas, but this and much else that he contemplated was only carried out after his death, and will be considered in the chapter on Augustus.

An allusion at least must be made to the parks or gardens (*horti*) that now sprang up on the periphery of the Urbs; those of the historian Sallust on the Quirinal; of Lucullus on the Pincian, and of Cæsar himself (Hor. Sat., I., 9, 18) near the Porta Portuensis, are among the most celebrated. They contained casinos, halls and sometimes temples, and were thus a significant element in Roman town-planning. In them a garden-art first makes its appearance in Rome and Italy, since, as their name (*horti*) indicates, they were partly laid out in flower-beds, possibly adorned with statues.

§ 4. *Building activity in the neighbourhood of Rome and Italy.*— The building activity of the last century of the Republic made itself felt in the neighbourhood of Rome also. Long viaducts that spanned whole valleys anticipated the Pont du Gard or the bridge

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 82.—PONTE DI NONA.

of Alcantara, and replaced the simple arches which at an earlier date had bridged the streams that drained the valleys. At the *Ponte di Nona* (Fig. 82) nine miles from Rome on the Via Prænestina we can actually see the arches of the old bridge under the later structure. The Ponte Amato at the eighteenth milestone is of approximately the same date (Fig. 83).

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 83.—PONTE AMATO.

Civic pride now began to stir in the smaller towns, where the city gates especially begin to acquire artistic merit. Among early examples are the three beautiful gates at *Hispellum* (Spello) which may be dated to about the middle of the first century. The *Porta Venere*, which was drawn by the architect Serlio in the Renascence when it was nearly intact (Fig. 84), had three ways and was flanked by polygonal towers; it was perhaps inspired by some example in Asia Minor; but it is the first of those majestic Roman gateways which, like the *Porta Palatina* at Turin, or the *Porta Nigra* at Trier, are so distinctive a feature of Rome's Imperial sway. The second gate or *Porta Consolare* likewise had three passages which, though half buried, still form the main entrance to the town (Fig. 85). Its splendid travertine masonry was once faced with marble. Finally, the smaller but well-preserved *Porta Santa Ventura*, with its single arch,

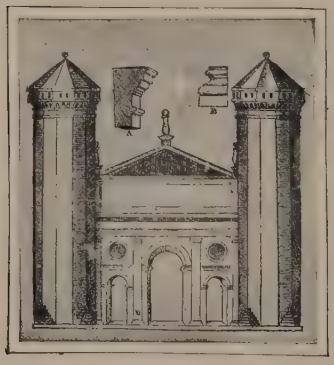


FIG. 84.—PORTA VENERE, SPELLO.
(Serlio.)

is of more primitive form and affords an interesting contrast to the two more ornate gateways (Fig. 86). The arch, which is flanked by flat Doric pilasters, surmounted by architrave and pediment, recalls Sullan models. The double gate of Aquino, with its square court, dates probably from the Roman colony of 41 B.C., though it preserves the type of the older Janus gate of early Republican times.

FIG. 85.—PORTA CONSOLARE, SPELLO.

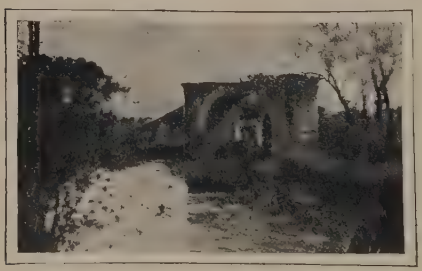
After the gates come the arches which at this time were erected in great profusion throughout Italy. The now demolished arch of the Gavii, at Verona, has been attributed to the end of the Republic; and outside Italy we have a notable example of the same period in the famous arch of Orange, now dated from the character of its sculpture between 49 and 44 B.C., and thought to commemorate Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, (battle-scenes and friezes) and his Mediterranean victories (the naval trophies). At Spoleto, the arch (Fig. 87) bearing the name of Germanicus, in whose honour it was re-consecrated, is clearly Republican and may be as old as the recolonization of Spoletium after its destruction by Sulla. Aquino, besides the double gate already mentioned, possesses a fine arch, generally half flooded (Fig. 88), which possibly commemorated, like the gate, the establishment of the Roman colony. Other instructive remains of the period that preceded Augustus may be seen within an easy radius of Rome: at *Tuder* (Todi) the pilastered niches of the so-called Forum; at Ascoli, a well-preserved bridge and a double city-gate; at Assisi, the ruins of a Republican Forum below the level of the present piazza. But for all these there is no space in the modest compass of this book. We will only mention in conclusion the walls

FIG. 86.—PORTA SANTA VENTURA, SPELLO.

and gates of Ferentino, since authorities seem now agreed in dating them to the first century (Fig. 89). In Greece likewise the Romans continued to give proof of their building activity, as, for instance, at Eleusis, where the little Propylæa with the porticus of the Caryatids was erected by Appius Claudius Pulcher, who died ab. 48 B.C.

FIG. 87.—ARCH AT SPOLETO.

Any notice of building operations in Italy during the last century of the Republic must include a reference at least to the numerous villas which sprang up at this period in various parts of the country, more especially in the Roman Campagna, in the Alban and Sabine hills, and along the Campanian coast. The villas of Sulla, Pompey, Julius Cæsar, Lucullus, Crassus, Hortensius and Cicero were among the most celebrated. These country seats were not only often magnificent in themselves, but they were local centres of culture upon which critical and creative instincts might be developed. Their general character may be recorded with the help of Pompeian wall-paintings, where they are frequently represented: within the villa or park was a main habitation or casino, generally with colonnaded façade and wings, while a number of smaller buildings for use or pleasure were dotted about the grounds. The arrangement reappears on a glorified scale in the *domus aurea* of Nero and in the Imperial villas of Domitian at Albano and of Hadrian at Tibur.



[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 88.—ARCH AT AQUINO.

To adorn these villas and the monuments of Rome, Greece was ransacked for original works of art, and the collecting mania spread rapidly. An interesting proof of this was afforded by the recovery in

1901 and 1907 of two shiploads of marbles and bronzes, one at Antikythera off Cape Malea, and one near Mahdia on the North African coast. There is evidence that both were wrecked during the first century B.C., and both have been identified as part of the convoy which was carrying back to Rome the spoils of Sulla's capture of Athens in 86 B.C. As far as the Antikythera find is concerned, the conjecture gains support from Lucian (Zeuxis, iii.), who says that Sulla lost a famous painting of Zeuxis at this very place; the coincidence is certainly striking. In spite of his surname, Felix Sulla was apparently not always fortunate in his artistic enterprises.

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 89.—GATE OF FERENTINO.

We should like to know more of the artistic decorations of the homelier villas. Not all the owners were wealthy aristocrats able or caring to import Lysippian statues, or paintings by Antiphilus. Like the Reatine Villa of Axius in Varro's *Treatise on Farming* (iii. 5), they were covered with pictures of agricultural and pastoral pursuits. It was neither the art of mediæval cathedrals nor that of the later Flemings and Dutch that first discovered the possibilities of what are called "genre" subjects. This was first accomplished by the Romans in the art that developed from the closing century of the Republic onwards. Greek vases and certain Greek reliefs show that these themes had been attempted by the Greeks, and Egyptian art is full of them; but in our Western world the Romans were the first systematically to explore their possibilities. The *gesta hominum* soon loomed large and eclipsed the *gesta deorum*. But the interest in human happenings was not confined, as the accidents of archæology tend to make it appear, to the camp, the army and the triumph, but included the agricultural and industrial activities of man. The vineyard and the winepress, the farm, the factory and the shop provided artists with material for new observation and imparted to their work a new imaginative stimulus.

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FIG. 90.—SACRIFICE TO MARS. RELIEF FROM ALTAR.
(Louvre.)

CHAPTER VI

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC: SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

§ 1. *Modifications of Hellenic Forms to suit Roman Subjects—Sepulchral Reliefs.*—In sculpture likewise a new phase opened. In the eighty years between the dictatorship of Sulla and the erection of the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*, sculpture, from being an exotic growth, was transformed into an expression of the genius of ancient Italy. Hellenic forms were gradually adapted to Roman subjects and modified accordingly. A curious example of the fusion of styles in the early part of the century is the peperino group in the Museo Mussolini, set up according to the inscription by the Guild of the Flute-players (*tibicines*) who performed at public sacrifices, and who are so often represented on triumphal reliefs. Owing to their fragmentary condition, and the friable nature of the coarse material, the actual statues of the flute-players are now only rude effigies; but there is considerable merit in the main composition, which represents Orpheus charming the beasts (Fig. 91), a subject used here as appropriate to the flute-playing brotherhood, and

FIG. 91.—ORPHEUS.
(Museo Mussolini.)

also because Orpheus, who had preached the doctrine of resurrection and won back Eurydice from the jaws of hell, was eminently in place on a sepulchral monument. The local material employed shows that the work was done for a genuine Roman guild; probably by a native artist; but the composition, naïve and provincial though it has become in his hands, is Hellenic in conception and has something Scopadic in the pose of the head of Orpheus.

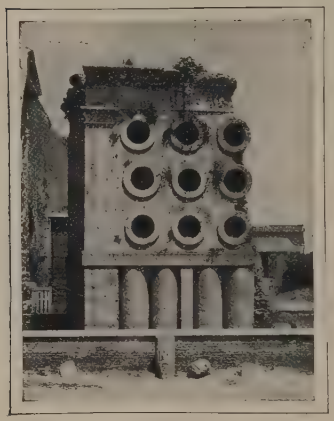


FIG. 92.—TOMB OF THE BAKER, PORTA MAGGIORE.

The frieze on the monument of the baker *Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces* (Fig. 92), which illustrates the various processes of bread-making, is possibly influenced by scenes of daily life on Hellenic and Hellenistic reliefs, but the Romans were to make such subjects peculiarly their own: we have already referred to the kitchen scene on a *cista* from Palestrina, and the kitchen and other domestic scenes on the much later Igel monument near Trèves illustrate the constant popularity of this class of genre. The composition of the frieze has traits in common with the painted frieze of the Esquiline tomb noted at the end of this chapter, and both have motives which reappear two centuries later in the column of Trajan, where the men carrying baskets of earth for the construction of ramparts or walls resemble the slaves carrying baskets of wheat in the tomb of the baker. The name of the baker shows him to have been a Romanized Greek. His tomb, which stands immediately outside the Porta Maggiore, is in the shape of an oven, and is further remarkable architecturally for its Etrusco-Æolic capitals—a variant form of the Ionic. The portrait group on a marble slab near by was found on the site and is thought to be of Vergilius and of his wife Atistia, for whom the tomb was in the first instance put up.[1]

Among sepulchral reliefs of the Republican period a stele in the British Museum (Cat. III. 2274) deserves a place of honour. It was

[1] Inscriptions: *C.I.L.*, 2nd ed., i., 1203–1205 and vi., 1958; Dessau, 7460. From these inscriptions round the tomb it appears that Eurysaces was both baker and contractor (*redemptor*). Ashby, "Sep. Eurysaces," in *Top. Dict.* For Atistia, *C.I.L.*, 2nd ed., i., 1206 = vi., 1958.

found near the walls in one of the tombs that bordered the ancient Via Nomentana, and marked the resting-place of a man and his wife whom the inscription carved on each side of the stele quaintly represents as praising one another's virtues (C.I.L., vi. 9499). The woman's head is a vile restoration, but that of the man is of genuinely Republican character, with thin delicate features (cf. Buecheler, ii. 959, *Carm. Ep. Lat.*).

Greek idealism and Roman realism appear in striking juxtaposition on the friezes of the altar put up, it is thought, in 45 B.C. by Domitius Ahenobarbus in front of the Temple of Neptune. On the principal face (Fig. 87) a Roman sacrifice is represented with an attention to actuality and detail—the altar, the god, the priest, the attendants, the victims, the musicians and the soldiery—which is in sharp contrast to the allegorical friezes of the other sides. On these we see the nuptial *thiasos* of Neptune and Amphitrite followed by their court of Nereids and creatures of the deep, in evident allusion, after the idealizing Greek manner, to the naval victories of Ahenobarbus. And the manner in which the procession of sea deities is displayed along the surface of the relief is also Greek, though even here a Roman trait is introduced in the attempt to show the chariot of Neptune in three-quarter view. It is a first step towards such a purely Romanized design as the "Neptune and Amphitrite" of the Ostian Thermæ—from the second century, A.D.—where the god, impelled by some divine force, drives his team of hippocamps forward from the depths of the composition, while the Nereids and their companions enframe the central motive in an ordered pattern (Calza, *Ostia*, p. 55).

FIG. 93.—VENUS GENETRIX, FROM THE BORGHESE BASIS.

Closely connected with the sacrificial frieze on the altar of Ahenobarbus is another scene of sacrifice on a base in the Villa Borghese. Here the ceremony is in honour of Apollo and Hercules, who appear accompanied by Venus and Victory. The similarity between the grouping and distribution of the figures on both altar and basis makes

it certain that the two monuments are of the same period; the basis has accordingly been referred from its subject to the *ludi Cæsaris* of the year 42 B.C. In common with other works of the time the figures betray a marked eclecticism which borrows alike from Italic-Hellenic and neo-Attic models. The figure of Venus (Fig. 93) is also significant as being a contemporary reproduction of the *Venus genitrix* made by Arcesilaus for the temple in Cæsar's Forum. Distinctly Roman both as to subject and treatment is the relief of the Museo Mussolini representing Marcus Curtius (Fig. 94) as he springs full armed into the chasm. The slab once adorned the balustrade that rimmed the Lacus Curtius in the Forum. Though probably only a late copy, it has kept the fire and spirit of the original as well as a romantic note; a vivid sense of depth is emphasized by showing horse and horseman in three-quarter view from the back as Curtius plunges headlong into the void, and the natural rendering of the waving reeds at the edge of the *lacus* is already in the mode of the Ara Pacis. The Republican date seems certain from the countless reproductions of the group on lamps and terra-cottas of the period (*Brit. Mus., Cat. Lamps.*, Pl. XVIII). Similar in character to the Curtius relief is one in Munich representing a gladiatorial scene, with the groups of two trumpeters and two armed figures, one of whom, seen from the back as he crouches on the ground asking for mercy, stimulates our sense of depth by the foreshortened pose, besides being drawn and modelled with the vigour of Mantegna (Fig. 95).

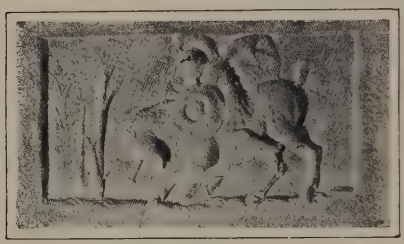


FIG. 94.—CURTIUS SPRINGING INTO THE CHASM.
(Relief in Museo Mussolini.)

FIG. 95.—RELIEF OF GLADIATORS.
(Munich.)

§ 2. *Reliefs with Landscape and Pastoral Subjects—Animals in Roman Art.*—In another class of reliefs are those mural panels of marble which used to be classed indiscriminately as Hellenistic, but in

which modern criticism has succeeded in disentangling the Roman from the Greek element and finding a chronology for the different groups. The earliest examples of the Roman series fall approximately in the middle of the first century, and chiefly reproduce pastoral and agricultural landscapes or scenes from animal life. Among the numerous examples we may single out for their dainty elegance the well-known pair at Vienna, that come from the Palazzo Grimani in Venice, representing the one a lioness and her cub (Fig. 96), the other an ewe and her lamb. The reliefs have, it is true, been recently attributed to the time of Claudius, but subject and composition seem genuinely in the spirit of the first century B.C. In both groups the animals appear within the shadow of a cave, a favourite device which lasted into Augustan art, where we meet with it on one of the slabs of the Ara Pacis. Above the caves the landscape of the middle distance is treated with a fresh and charming touch, especially effective in the rendering of the trees and plants. Some light is thrown upon the school that introduced this style of subject by Varro, who mentions a group he possessed of a lioness bound by love-gods, made by the same Arcesilaus of Cyrene, the Greek artist who was executing commissions at this period for distinguished Romans, among whom was Cæsar (above p. 87). Nor was Arcesilaus the only Greek who at this time depicted animal life, for Pliny has a story of how the Neapolitan Pasiteles, while down at the docks making a study of a caged lion, was nearly killed by a panther who broke out from a neighbouring cage.

FIG. 96.—LIONESS AND YOUNG.
Relief in the Vienna Museum.
(Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, Heinemann, London.)

Animal painting and modelling had attracted artistic effort from the earliest times: Altamira, Moustier, Egypt; the magnificent zoography of Greek vases, so easy to study in the fascinating pages of M. Morin; Greek animal sculpture (cows and horses of the Parthenon, horses of Olympia, Alexander's lion's hunt, lions of Cnidos and of Chæronea; in Rome itself, the bull from Ægina (?) in the Forum Boarium; the wonderful bronze dog licking her wounds in

the cella of Juno in the Capitoline temple, where it perished in the fire of A.D. 69); all these show the greatness of the Greeks as *animaliers*. None the less, what the Romans produced in this line ranks with the best. The *lupa Capitolina* is an early example: a second wolf, the famous bronze put up by the Ogulnii in 296 B.C., is another. This group, showing the animal as she looks back protectingly at her nurslings, is preserved in many copies and imitations, one of which, of Imperial date, at Avenches in Switzerland, is reproduced here (Fig. 97). We also hear of a bronze bull set up in the Porticus Minucia, while the horses of equestrian statues and chariot groups are famous from the time of the Republic onwards. At a later date the hunting scenes of Pompeian painting, the fish-ponds of the mosaics, the birds, both sculptured and painted, of sepulchral art; the sow of Lanuvium, the goats and wild beasts of Hadrianic mosaics; the sacrificial animals of countless reliefs; the dying bulls on the Trajanic column and on Mithraic altar-pieces, the elephants of Imperial and Dionysiac quadrigæ, show how sustained was Roman effort in the rendering of animal life.

FIG. 97.—THE WOLF OF AVENCHES.

A new interest in country folk is expressed in the relief at Munich of a peasant, who, bent under the double burden of a knapsack on his left shoulder and of a basket in his right hand, is driving his cow to market. In this class of picture relief there is little of the modern feeling for landscape for its own sake; the landscape is treated as setting for a rural ritual, the familiar features of which are sacred groves enclosing votive columns tied with sashes, small shrines and chapels, tiny figures of Pan or of Priapus, torches and thyrsi, the mystic chest

FIG. 98.—SCENE AT TOMB. STUCCO. (Munich.)

and winnowing fan, and the sacred tree from whose branches are suspended votive offerings. In the left foreground of the Munich relief we have an altar with vase, thyrsus and torch; above is a shrine of Priapus, and in the middle distance a sacred enclosure with a tall bætyl in the centre supporting the Dionysiac emblems. To the right is a gate surmounted by the sacred pine-cone, through which a tree pushes its sturdy branches. In the relief with the lioness we find the trailing wreath across the altar adorned with the mask and other Dionysiac emblems, and the thyrsus and torch propped up against it. Again, in a little known stucco relief of the Munich Antiquarium (Fig. 98) a young man, wearing the large soft hat of a traveller, halts to offer a wreath in front of a temple-shaped grave on a high podium overshadowed by a tree, while on the right of the broad flight of steps stands the familiar altar.

FIG. 99.—POLYPHEMUS PIPING.
(Villa Albani.)

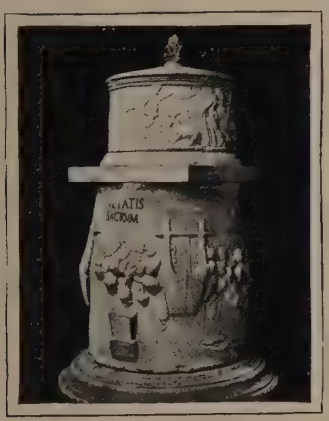


FIG. 100.—MARBLE WELL HEAD.
(Lateran Museum.)

A pastoral vein pervades the Albani relief (Fig. 99) of Polyphemus seated piping under a tree as Eros whispers into his ear. These reliefs possibly betray a fashionable rather than a genuine love of the country and its pursuits; it is the country as seen by a people who affect rather than feel distaste of town life. They indicate the attempted return to nature of a tired society as yet untouched by new forces. The wreath and garland motives employed in this period in architectural decoration reappear on smaller monuments as on the *puteal Libonis*, the decorated well-head put up in the Forum in 54 B.C. by Scribonius

Libo, which is known from coins and from a copy in the Lateran (Fig. 100).

§ 3. *Decorative Sculpture: Vases and Fountains.*—Mythological figures and groups, imitated from later archaic and fifth-century Greek work, formed at this time the favourite decoration of vases and fountains. The Medici vase at Florence (Fig. 101), with its still enigmatic subject (possibly Cassandra as suppliant), the Borghese vase in the Louvre (Fig. 102), with its Dionysiac processions, and the

FIG. 101.—THE MEDICI VASE. (Florence.)

FIG. 102.—THE BORGHESE VASE. (Louvre.)

beautiful vase in the Chigi collection in Rome, with scenes from the myth of Psyche (R. R. III, 219, 1) show this Hellenizing tendency. That the artists were Greeks seems certain from the signatures that occur on other vases of the same character—the vase in Naples representing the childhood of Dionysus, signed *Salpion;* the one in the Louvre with a procession of gods and Bacchic figures signed *Sosibios;* and the huge rhyton in the Conservatori, found on the site of the Villa of Mæcenas, decorated with Bacchantes copied from Attic originals of the fifth century B.C., which is signed by the Athenian *Pontios.*

Figures in the round also were put to decorative uses in this period, *e.g.* the charming group in the Louvre of three girls linked together after the fashion of the Graces, to form the support of a fountain basin (Fig. 103). This may be a copy of the fountain group known as the Appiades, or Appian nymphs, made for the

Forum of Cæsar by Stephanos, the pupil of Pasiteles, known also for his copies of ancient Greek works (above, p. 97). The group of a centaur carrying off a Nereid in the Hall of the Animals of the Vatican (H.-A. 179) evidently belongs to the same school and very likely reproduces another of the fountains which from this time onwards were used to decorate villas and open places. The group may well be brought into connection with the *centauri nymphas gerentes* of Arcesilaus, the sculptor credited with executing the statue of Venus Genitrix for the Goddess's temple in the Forum of Cæsar. The motive of the Rape, the joyous movement of the Centaur, tempered by a certain grave dignity, are derived from Hellenistic models; but the simulated fright of the Nereid and the mischievous gesture of the little Eros introduce into the composition the raciness of Latin humour.

FIG. 103.—FOUNTAIN GROUP. (Gusman.)
(Louvre.)

§ 4. *Copies and Adaptations from Earlier Works.*—As a rule, however, little originality can be claimed for the treatment of the human figure in this period. It is the era of the adapters and the copyists, who now filled the Roman world with those copies of earlier works which still represent four-fifths of the statues in most of our collections of antiques. The fashion for copies is Hellenistic and probably older. It was adopted by Rome in emulation of the courts of the Diadochi, who, like the Attalids of Pergamon, encouraged the copying of beautiful or famous works, when originals could not be obtained. In the first century B.C. the chief of this school of Greek copyists working for Roman patrons was Pasiteles, a native of Magna Græcia who became a Roman citizen. He was an interesting personality and a good deal more than a mere copyist. Besides the studies of animal life already referred to, he made an ivory statue of Jupiter for the temple which Metellus Macedonicus about seventy years before had enclosed within the Porticus Octavia on the side nearest the Campus Martius. He was also an excellent modeller and metal chaser, instrumental probably in intro-

FIG. 104.—STATUE BY STEPHANOS. (Villa Albani.)

FIG. 105.—GROUP BY MENELAOS. (Terme.)

ducing into Rome the Hellenistic metal work which in the period of Augustus took on a distinctive Roman character. It illustrates the curiosity of the times as to ancient art, that Pasiteles, who was apparently as versatile a genius as an Italian of the Renascence, wrote a history of the most famous works of art of antiquity in five volumes. Nothing directly connected with his name has survived; though a famous statue, now in the Villa Albani, bears the signature of Stephanos, who acknowledges himself his pupil. This work, which represents a young athlete in repose (Fig. 104), is doubtless copied from a Greek original of the early fifth century; but it is a proof of the importance that Romans attached to copies at this period that it should be thus circumstantially signed by the artist, who gives not only his name but that of his master. Though the study of copies belongs to the history of Greek and not Roman art, the athlete of Stephanos is mentioned here for the light it throws on the taste of the times and for its influence on contemporary sculpture. Not only do we find replicas of it, but it occurs in more or less tasteful groupings with other figures; with a woman, for instance, to form the subject of an "Orestes and Electra" at Naples, or with

FIG. 106—PAN. (British Museum.)

FIG. 107.—BRONZE CAMILLUS.
(Conservatori.)

another male figure to form the so-called "Orestes and Pylades," now in the Louvre. The "Ildefonso group" in Madrid represents a similar combination of two later types.

FIG. 108.—ROMAN WITH ANCESTRAL PORTRAITS.
(Mus. Barberini.)

The Pasitelean School lasted into the Julio-Claudian period, when a group of a woman and a boy, also known as "Orestes and Electra" (Fig. 105), is signed by one Menelaos, who in turn calls himself the pupil of Stephanos as Stephanos had of Pasiteles. But the full name of Menelaos was Marcus Cossutius Menelaos, so that, like the M. Cossutius Cerdo M(arci) l(ibertus) who signs the two copies of a Polycleitan Pan in the British Museum (Fig. 106), he was a freedman of a M. Cossutius, whom we may possibly regard as a descendant of the architect of the Olympieion at Athens. The Pan of Marcus Cossutius Cerdo, it may be noted, was found in a Roman villa near Lanuvium.

Side by side with copies and adaptations we occasionally find a genuine Roman subject, such as the charming statue of a Camillus in the Palazzo dei

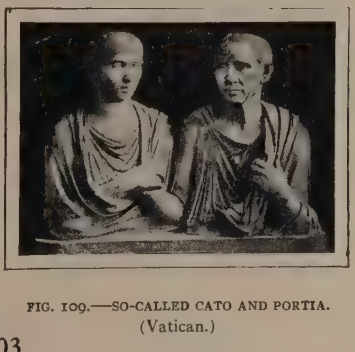


FIG. 109.—SO-CALLED CATO AND PORTIA.
(Vatican.)

Conservatori (Fig. 107). The casting of the metal is excellent and the delicate stripes of a reddish bronze that reach from the shoulders to the hem of the garment reproduce the purple stripes of the actual dress. This exquisite work has not received the attention it deserves; yet a new vitality, flowing from the artist's interest in a fresh subject, informs both figure and drapery, and it may very well be a creation of the last century of the Republic.

FIG. 110.—PORTRAIT OF POMPEY.
(Ny Carlsberg.)

§ 5. *Portraiture of the First Century.* — Recent research has shown that Etruscan influences were powerful in the formation of Roman portraiture (see above, p. 70), but this should not blind us to the importance of the Greek element which makes itself strongly felt in the first century and blends very happily with the Etrusco-Roman. It is generally accepted that portraiture in Rome arose in connection with the wax images moulded over the face of the dead which were carried in the funeral procession and afterwards deposited in the entrance hall of the house. Copies in stone of these wax images, neatly arranged in their *armaria* or cabinets, adorn a tomb of Republican date now visible at the corner of the Villa Campanari. At times a long series of such effigies may be seen stiffly aligned within one frame; at others the little bust of a child placed between the portraits of its parents introduces a softer note. These images, however, when translated into stone were apt to lose their Roman severity and to be modified by the naturalism of contemporary Greek sculpture. The two ancestral *images* which the dignified Roman

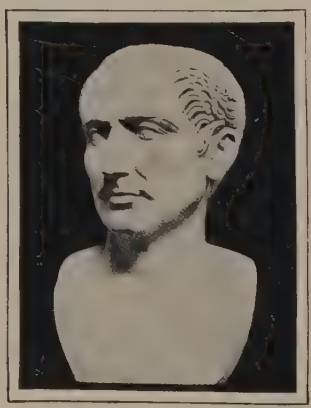
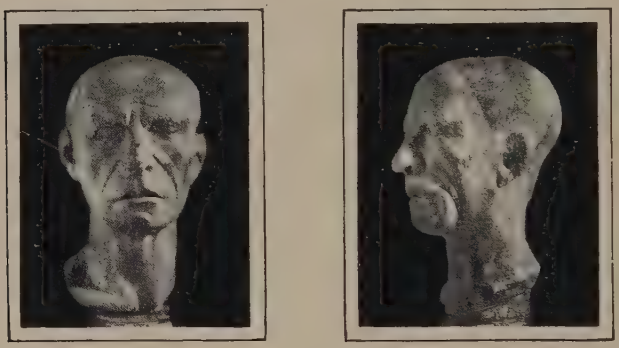


FIG. 111.—COLOSSAL HEAD OF CÆSAR.
(Naples.)

carries in the Barberini group (Fig. 108) are practically busts in the Hellenistic manner. On tombs we sometimes see the recumbent effigy of a man holding the *imago* of his wife, or vice versa of a wife holding that of her husband, but in these later examples again the *imago* is a bust, shaped according to the fashion of the period. On the other hand, the Greek naturalism that tempers the stiff form of the well-known group in the Vatican (Fig. 109), long misnamed "Cato and Portia," is what might be expected, since from the copy of the lost inscription on the base of the bust it appears that the two persons portrayed were Greek freedmen (M. Gratidius Libanus, with his wife and freedwoman, Gratidia M. L. Carite). Among portraits in marble that can be assigned to the closing years of the Republic, many of which are now believed to be in fact Augustan, the first in artistic merit is probably the magnificent togate statue of a Roman in the act of sacrifice, in the Sala della Biga of the Vatican (Hekler, 129*c*); its conception anticipates the Augustus of the Via Labicana; the noble yet realistic treatment of the drapery recalls that of a fine statue of Augustus in the Louvre. Another togate statue, no less impressive, is in the British Museum (Cat. No. 1943). These two statues remain, and are likely to remain, anonymous, but with two other portraits of the same period we are more fortunate: the Cicero, identified from the inscribed replica at Apsley House, a curiously exact transcript of our literary conceptions of the great orator; and the head of Pompey in the Ny Carlsberg Collection (Fig. 110) at Copenhagen, identified beyond question with the help of his coins. The fussy conscientiousness of the man, the kindly, anxious face with its puzzled eyes, are all treated with Hellenistic naturalism; as are the loose locks of untidy hair—the very locks by which the head was held up to Cæsar after Pharsalia. It is inexplicable that the portraiture of Cæsar should be as yet so little known. We gather from the coins that he was haggard and thin, and wore what hair he had in the strictest fashion of the Republic; but of portraits in the round there is a curious dearth. The colossal head at Naples, evidently of a Republican personage, must be Cæsar, since it is on a scale only allowed to the *divi*, but it was executed at a later period, and in spite of a certain architectural grandeur it remains cold and uninspired (Fig. 111). The statue as *Imperator* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori is again only a copy of Trajanic date; it seems genuine enough, but is singularly unimpressive; the famous head in the British Museum must be either a forgery or a late historic portrait —probably the former, since it combines hair of the first century with eyes of the late second, is made of Luna marble and comes

from Alexandria—a suspicious *provenance* in any case, and doubly so for a work executed in Italian marble. The fine head of green basalt in Berlin cannot be accepted as a Cæsar; the head in the Stroganoff Collection is a splendid portrait of the period, but far too old for the Dictator, who was only fifty-six at the time of his murder (Figs. 112 and 113); the curious Romano-Egyptian basalt portrait in the Museo Barracco, with its look of austerity and suffering (*Roman Sculpture*, Plate I), has many of the characteristics commonly associated with the name of Cæsar, but the head is



FIGS. 112 AND 113.—ROMAN PORTRAIT (REPUBLICAN).
(Formerly in Stroganoff collection.)

more probably that of an Egyptian priest of about the same period. The head, which, in spite of its restored nose and chin, has the greatest claim to be regarded as a portrait of Cæsar, is that in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Four magnificent Republican portraits of severe style are in the newly reorganised museum at Mantua. One of the few heroized portraits of the Republican period, though it cannot be associated with any famous historical name, is the imposing statue of a Roman found in Delos and now in the Museum at Athens; it probably represents some Roman Governor or official portrayed as a Hermes, for which a Polycleitan type was borrowed (Hekler, 127, *b*).

The native art of terra-cotta is responsible for interesting portraiture—long insufficiently studied—in a style intermediate between the wax *imago* and the portrait intended as a work of art. The rapid and sketchy execution and the addition of colour impart to these terra-cotta heads a vividness and a lifelike quality frequently

absent in the more elaborate techniques. A fine example is the Boston head reproduced in Fig. 114. The terra-cotta heads, moreover, are of special importance as representing a distinctly Etruscan style, of which we have seen earlier examples in the bronze head, wrongly called "Brutus," and kindred works. Later than the so-called Brutus, and clearly Roman in character, is the remarkable bust in Naples of the actor Norbanus Sorix (Hekler, 130), who flourished in the time of Sulla. Being approximately dated, it is among the most precious examples of pre-Imperial portraiture and Hekler justly praises it for its extraordinary force and clarity of expression.

FIG. 114.—TERRA-COTTA HEAD.
(Boston.)

Portraits on Republican coins have already been alluded to in the case of Pompey and Flamininus; the head of Sulla, not as yet identified with any portrait in the round, is an interesting character study, but suggests the sensuous rather than the statesmanlike side of his character; Lepidus looks the nonentity he was in history; Antony, no portrait of whom exists in the round, is the self-satisfied coxcomb without a hint of his more serious side. But it is perhaps unfair to judge Antony and Lepidus from their coin portraits, when we consider the gulf that separates the ineffective heads of the young Octavius on the coins from such a masterpiece as the celebrated bust from Ostia in the Vatican (Fig. 115), which represents the "wise boy at the age of fifteen to eighteen, intelligent and well bred, with an expression early matured by steadfast will and a severe self-mastery

FIG. 115.—PORTRAIT OF OCTAVIUS.
(Vatican.)

which inexorably thrusts back all intimate emotion" (Hekler). This head, with its Roman accuracy and Greek psychology, inaugurates the Augustan era, during which was effected the fusion of the various conflicting styles, Hellenic, Roman and Etruscan.

§ 6. *Painting.*—In this chapter we shall limit ourselves to recalling a few of the lost masterpieces known from literary sources. Scene painting came into being in the first century. It was first used apparently at the games of C. Claudius Appius Pulcher in 99 B.C. (see p. 63), and excited great admiration because of its naturalistic quality, the very crows being deceived by the painted roof tiles and flying down to settle on them. We may refer to approximately the same date a large picture of uncertain purpose which covered the whole of the balconies (*mæniana*) by the old shops in the Forum. It was the work of one Serapion, from his name doubtless a native of Alexandria.

All the different classes of painting discussed in Chapter IV continued to flourish. After the siege of Nola in 88 B.C. a portrait of Sulla was painted in which the great Dictator, wearing the obsidional crown of grass, was shown against the ramparts of the fallen city. In 87 B.C., Marius on his victorious return to Rome set up in the holy grove of the local nymph Marica a picture of his strange adventures in Minturnæ (Plut. *Mar.*, 37–39). The triumphs celebrated by a succession of great generals continued to create a demand for pictures. In that of Pompey, according to Appian, there figured portraits of the "absent vanquished," of Tigranes, and of Mithridates fighting and fleeing. Of the Mithridatic war especially a whole string of episodes was shown: battles and sieges, the king's flight by night culminating in his death—a subject that anticipated the "Death of Decebalus" on the column of Trajan; and that the tale of the enemy's sufferings might be complete there appeared pictures of the sons and daughters of Mithridates whose death had preceded his.

The triumph of Cæsar in 46 B.C. probably surpassed every other in grandeur. In it the whole drama of the civil wars was exhibited pictorially. Out of respect for his rival's memory, or fearing to arouse an exhibition of popular feeling, Cæsar omitted any picture of Pompey from the pageant. Otherwise the *dramatis personæ* were all there: Scipio throwing himself into the sea, after receiving the self-inflicted mortal wound; Petreius and Juba dying by one another's hand at a banquet; and Cato tearing off his bandages. As a relief to so much tragedy, the villains of the piece were also brought in, in this instance the cowards Achillas and Pothinus, the picture of whose death as traitors was greeted with loud cheers;

finally, a comic touch was introduced into the picture by showing the flight of Pharnaces, a melancholy exhibition that was received with bursts of laughter.

Varro (born 116 B.C.) mentions that when he was a young man there lived in Rome an unmarried lady of Cyzicus called Jaia, who was a portrait painter. She seems to have worked on ivory, which suggests miniature, and also to have painted a portrait of herself with the help of a mirror. Of religious art, strictly speaking, we again hear little, though one Habron is said to have painted images of the gods. Moreover, the picture of the celebrated courtesan Flora, which it is said one of the Metelli put up in the time of Pompey the Great in the temple of the Castores, can only have been a picture of Helen for which Flora sat as model, since Helen would be an appropriate subject in a temple dedicated to her brothers.

[*Brizio.*

FIG. 116.—BUILDING OF ALBA LONGA, TOMB PAINTING.
(Terme.)

From a columbarium tomb on the Esquiline comes a frieze representing a series of episodes from the legendary history of Rome: the building of Lavinium; the battle between Latins and Rutuli; the building of Alba Longa (Fig. 116); the story of Rhea Sylvia and the exposure of the Twins. The pictures, neglected and forgotten, are full of interest not only for their subjects but for the style and design, which certainly reproduce some extensive and important mural composition. Among the finest are the building of the walls of Alba in presence of the city's goddess, and the founding of Rome with the idyllic scene of the shepherds and their flocks, and the two men carrying the twins in a cradle while the river god with his oar looks on and Rhea is seen pensively seated in the distance. The atmosphere is truly Roman; the long frieze has in it elements which had slowly developed out of themes long dear to Roman artists. The picture of building operations in this series was long

ago shown to have affinities with triumphal painting and may almost be classed among the prototypes of such scenes in the column of Trajan.

Painting and mosaic flourished side by side. We have already referred to the examples of mosaic possibly from the age of Sulla in the temple of Fortune at Prænestе. Moreover, it was in the famous *Colonia Sullana* at Pompeii, in the city of tufa, that was developed the so-called architectural style of Pompeian painting, of which there are examples in Rome also. For the sake of completeness and convenience, however, we will discuss the different styles together in Chapter XI.

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[*Photo, K. Martin.*

FIG. 117.—BEARDED HEAD IN TERRA-COTTA FROM NEMI.
(Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Mus.)

CHAPTER VII

LATIN TERRA-COTTAS

Statues, statuettes, ornamental tile ends and other facings of terra-cotta remained so constant a feature of ancient Italic temples that they afford a continuous picture of the development of Italic art from the earliest times to the close of the Republic and even later. The Apollo from Veii and the sarcophagi from Cervetri have already shown us that this ancient fictile art was largely influenced by Greek models; but both Latins and Etruscans so thoroughly assimilated this foreign element that works in terra-cotta, whether in the round or in relief, came to be looked upon as essentially Italic products. By the second century, indeed, the old patriot Cato, who was for ever attributing the degeneracy of his time to the rage for Greek fashions, pointed to these terra-cottas as examples of the old Latin simplicity uncorrupted as yet by the hateful inventions of Syracuse, Athens or Corinth.

§ 1. *The Architectural Uses of Terra-cotta.*—The primitive custom of protecting wood, sun-dried bricks and rough tufaceous stone by means of terra-cotta antefixes was alike common to the Italic and the Hellenic peoples. These antefixes were modelled in the shape of human heads, Medusa masks, and even of whole figures and groups. The protective principle was thus a double one, for the figures themselves had an apotropaic function that originated in the desire of primitive man to ward off evil spirits from his places of worship. To get a clear idea of how these terra-cotta

facings were used in Latium it is necessary to understand their place on a temple. In the early Latin temple the most significant part architecturally is the pediment, which is in the form of a projecting balcony resting on the prolongation of the side beams or *mutuli*, as on corbels. This projecting pediment not being supported by columns was not sufficiently substantial to bear the weight of groups of figures, as in the later stone temples; hence it remained empty save for the tile ends that decorated its lower edge and for the terra-cotta plaques in relief that were affixed to the *mutuli* and to the *columen* or central beam of the saddle roof. The arrangement is clear from the instructive little votive model found at Nemi (Fig. 118), which, though of a comparatively late date, substantially reproduces the archaic arrangement.

FIG. 118.—VOTIVE MODEL OF ETRUSCAN PEDIMENT. (Villa Giulia.)

The end of the central supporting beam is faced with a terra-cotta slab representing in this instance the Capitoline Triad, while above the lower horizontal cornice runs a row of tile ends of Gorgoneion type. A similar model may be seen in the Museum of Florence, and at the British Museum the reconstruction of part of the cornice of the archaic temple on the Acropolis of Lanuvium shows a decorated cornice with a hanging curtain of richly ornamented tiles. Finally, the model of a small temple discovered at Alatri (Fig. 119), now set up in the garden of the Villa Giulia, though possibly not accurate in every detail, shows how effective are brilliantly coloured terra-cottas in the clear Italian atmosphere.

FIG. 119.—TEMPLE OF ALATRI. RECONSTRUCTION AT VILLA GIULIA.

§ 2. *Terra-cottas from Rome, Satricum, Prænestе and Velitræ.*— A fragment of acroterion decorated with a palmette pattern from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was found some years ago, but is now mislaid (Fig. 120). In the collection of terra-cottas of the Palazzo dei Conservatori are two archaic pieces of great beauty: the first is a female head of Ionic-Etruscan type (Fig. 121) found on the site of the Ara Cœli; since it is of early fifth-century date it had probably drifted with other debris from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The second is a mask of Silenus from a sanctuary (not as yet identified), on the site of S. Antonio Abbate al Cispio on the Esquiline. But it is in the reorganized museum of the Villa Giulia, among the terra-cottas from the temples in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, that we can best study the early fictile art of Italy. The site of the celebrated temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum, modern Conca, has yielded as many as five groups of archaic terra-cottas

(Bull. Com. 1896.)

FIG. 120.—FRAGMENT OF TILE-END FROM TEMPLE OF JUPITER.

FIG. 121.—TERRA-COTTA HEAD. (Conservatori.)

FIG. 122.—HORNED GODDESS FROM CONCA (Villa Giulia.)

which apparently belong to successive restorations of the temple. The earliest phase is represented by fragments of a frieze of horsemen modelled with great dash and spirit. Among the antefixes are heads of Ionian type; bearded Gorgoneia with protruding tongues to emphasize their apotropaic character; female heads wearing a skin with bovine horns which suggest a connection with the goat-hooded Juno Lanuvinia (Fig. 122), and figures of snake-bodied Typhons alternating with Harpies. The Harpies hold up their feet with soles outward, a gesture which, like that of the open palm, is apotropaic and signifies aversion. Finally, we have the delightful groups reproducing the familiar subject of the amorous encounter of a Satyr with a Mænad; the rapid movement, the crescendo of animation that runs through the groups, the droll lubricity of the Satyr's face, suggest the various phases of a Satyric dance (Fig. 123). The groups are treated with great freedom but with a humour that disarms criticism. The Satyr-Mænad theme exists in several versions and was so popular that it was constantly copied and readapted. An interesting variant in the British Museum from the archaic temple on the Lanuvian acropolis, shows the Dionysiac panther running beside the couple who have halted, while the Silenus peers into the distance, shading his eyes with his right hand. The Ionian origin of these groups seems apparent. It is often found on vases and gems and in a long series of small Etrusco-Ionian bronzes. With the help of these bronzes indeed we may reconstruct almost every phase of the pantomime from the first meeting of the Satyr and the reluctant nymph (Fig. 124) to the last tableau in which he bears her away in

FIG. 123.—SATYR AND MÆNAD.
(Villa Giulia.)

FIG. 124.—SATYR AND NYMPH.
(Naples.)

triumph amid the applause, we may be sure, of the spectators. The first, a little bronze of exquisite finish, is in Naples; the second is in New York (Richter, Cat. Bronzes).

A number of fragments also from Conca apparently belonged either to a frieze or to a *columen* and *mutuli:* among them are two of singular excellence, the head of a horse and that of a warrior whose eyes are closed in death (Fig. 125). It is significant of the dependence of Latin artists upon Ionian models that the style of these fragments is akin to the sculptures of the frieze of the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi, while certain details recall the sculpture of Ægina (Fig. 126). Long processions of chariots, warriors and priestly personages were another favourite subject of fictile decoration in the archaic period. The prototypes were again no doubt Ionian, but they were latinized by the addition of local traits such as the augur with his curved lituus, etc. A fine example of a processional pageant on a terra-cotta frieze from the temple of Palestrina may be seen in the Villa Giulia (Fig. 126); and the subject occurs on many fragments of the old Borgia collection from Velletri, now in Naples. In the Palace of the Conservatori the

FIG. 125.—DEAD WARRIOR. TERRA-COTTA FROM CONCA. (Villa Giulia.)

FIG. 126.—HEAD OF WARRIOR. TERRA-COTTA FROM CONCA. (Villa Giulia.)

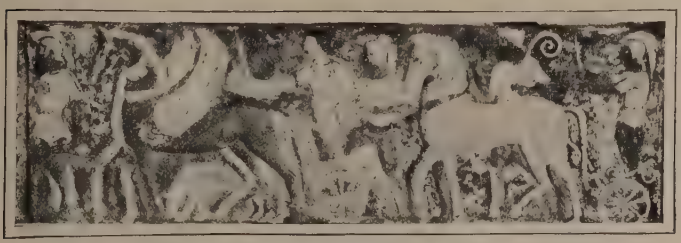

FIG. 127.—PROCESSION. PAINTED TERRA-COTTA PLAQUE FROM PALESTRINA. (Villa Giulia.)

same subject appears in a marble relief (Fig. given as head-piece to Chapter II, Fig. 9).

§ 3. *Falerii Veteres.*—No less important than that of Conca is the great series of terra-cottas from the various temples at Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana). A number of fragments found in the Contrada Sassi Caduti, to the North-west of the town, include the archaic group from the central acroterion of a temple showing two warriors engaged in hand-to-hand combat (Fig. 128); the details of dress and armour are brilliantly coloured; the admirable clarity of the composition is due to both figures being completely visible to the spectator, without any overlapping.

FIG. 128.—GROUP FROM TERRA-COTTA ACROTERION. (Villa Giulia.)

The Faliscan temples also provide us with first-rate terra-cottas of third-century date. From the same find at the Sassi Caduti and doubtless from a late restoration of the same temple come a long series of figures—including a torso of Mercury—evidently imitated from Greek fourth-century types, but themselves as late perhaps as the years 300–250. Curiously enough the art of fifth-century Greece has left few or no traces on our terra-cottas. The reason is difficult to gauge; at this period the Greek trade routes were perhaps largely diverted eastward to Asia Minor, so that even the Hellenic currents from Magna Græcia flowed more slowly. From a small temple within the town of Falerii supposed to have been dedicated to Apollo (Contrado lo Scasato) we have traces of an archaic series, though the greater part of the terra-

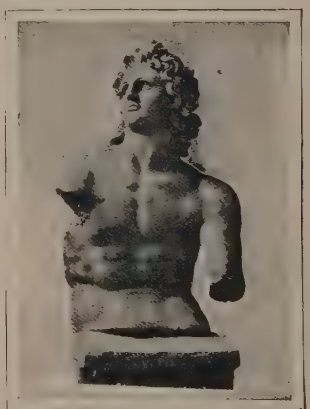

FIG. 129.—TORSO OF APOLLO. TERRA-COTTA FROM FALERII. (Villa Giulia.)

cottas are from a restoration of fourth-century date or later. Among fragments from the pediment are a torso with bent head and brushed-back hair that recalls Greek athlete types of the early fourth century; another torso, probably of Apollo (Fig. 129), with the exalted expression and energetic lines of the School of Scopas, and hair which rises above the forehead in leonine tufts, as in the portraits of Alexander; and a female head with pointed diadem (Fig. 130), also of distinct fourth-century Greek character. From an antefix comes the upper part of a small female figure with a kerchief round her head (Fig. 131) and the same broad bands down the front of her tunic that we note on the central figure of the pedimental group in the Museo dei Conservatori (Fig. 136). It has further been conjectured that certain fragments of horses belonged to chariots that adorned the angles of the pediments.

FIG. 130.—TERRA-COTTA HEAD FROM FALERII.
(Villa Giulia.)

FIG. 131.—TERRA-COTTA FROM FALERII.
(Villa Giulia.)

From a larger temple of second-century date in the same *contrada* come fine architectural fragments sufficient for a restoration of the building, which probably had a tripartite cella and the characteristic high pediment. Among the antefixes of this later temple are figures of four-legged Harpies and of a winged male torch-bearer—imitated from older types—used here alternately, the first as averters of evil, the second to preserve a perpetual light (*lux perpetua*) round the sacred building. Pre-eminent among the later Faliscan terra-cottas is a coloured statue (Fig. 132)—unfor-

tunately headless—from the temple in the *Contrada Celle*, said to be that of Juno Quiritis. The statue therefore very possibly represented Juno in the semblance of a Greek Hera. The pose and arrangement of the drapery is purely Praxitelean. The lines of the marble model have lost none of their grace or their strength in this terra-cotta version. The coloured design of the draperies with their elegant borders of palmettes on himation and chiton adds to our knowledge of the colouring of ancient statues in the fourth century, as do the Acropolis maidens for the sixth. Finally, in the *Contrada Vignale*, North-east of Falerii, are remains of a smaller and also of a larger temple, in both of which we can distinguish two series of terra-cottas—the archaic and that of fourth to third century date.

FIG. 132.—COLOURED TERRA-COTTA FROM FALERII.
(Villa Giulia.)

§ 4. *Veii; Cære; Signia; Alatri; Lanuvium; and Rome.*—Besides the group to which the famous Apollo belonged, Veii yielded magnificent figured ornaments, including a number of antefixes. The head of Medusa with the marvellous pattern of snakes enframing the face and the tragic rictus of the mouth, through which, as Giglioli points out, the sky could be seen, is one of the most impressive pieces. At Cære were found numerous terra-cottas, now in America. The *favissæ* of the temple at Signia (Segni) yielded others; the pieces from the temple at Alatri may be studied in the Museum of Villa Giulia and on the restored model; the antefixes and other revetments from Lanuvium at the British Museum and at the Louvre (Fig. 133), are generally supposed to come from

FIG. 133.—TERRA-COTTA TILE-END FROM LANUVIUM.
(Louvre.)

the famous temple of Juno, but it has recently been suggested that the temple was dedicated to the Capitoline triad, and that the temple of Juno is to be looked for in the plain. That the archaic temples of Rome were decorated in a similar style is obvious from the few surviving fragments, and from the story told by Livy of how in 211 B.C. a figure of Victory on the summit of the Temple of Concord was struck by lightning but caught in its fall on one of the antefixes, which were likewise in the form of Victories. Though Livy does not say so it is practically certain that all these figures were of terra-cotta. They may have resembled the "Victory" in Villa Giulia (Fig. 134).

FIG. 134.—TERRA-COTTA "VICTORY." (Villa Giulia.)

§ 5. *Terra-cottas in North Etruria.*—Whereas the fictile art of Latium seems untouched by fifth-century influence, that of North Etruria, on the contrary, is held to bear witness to that of Pheidian ateliers. This is what the Italian archæologist Professor Galli attempts to prove in a recent article with the arresting title "Fidia in Etruria." But the Pheidian traits adduced in support of the thesis are admittedly survivals rather than contemporary manifestations. It can certainly be argued that the magnificent terra-cotta pediment from Telamon now in Florence has, especially in the plunging horses in one angle, something that recalls the vigour of the chariots of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon And we may concede that the grand figure of a warriror (Adrastus?) who stands upright in one of the chariots,

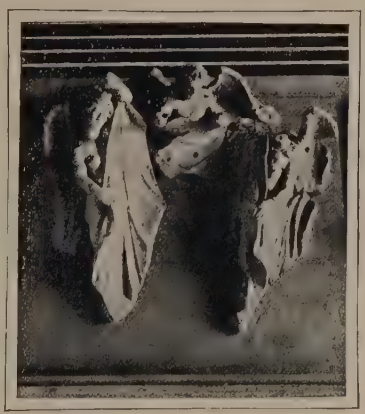

FIG. 135.—WINGED GENII. TERRA-COTTA. (Bologna.)

goaded on by a winged Fury, is in the manner of the great Hellenic period. But the date of the pediment is fixed, since it commemorates the victory of the Romans over the Gauls at Talamone in 225 B.C. Among other fine North Etrurian pieces are three well-known groups from Luni; the large terra-cottas probably from a pedimental composition recently discovered at Arezzo, all of them likewise in the Florence Museum; the fine groups from Civita Alba (Sassoferrato) in the Museum of Bologna, representing the expulsion of the Gauls from Delphi on the frieze, and on the pediment the legend of Ariadne who, grouped with Dionysos, doubtless appeared in the centre between looped-up curtains held up by winged genii, the Etruscan *Lasi* (Fig. 135). The whole of the peninsula was constellated with brilliant patches of colour made by the temples with their terra-cotta facings. The terra-cotta tile-ends encircled the temple as with a coronal, and broke by their ascensional movement the horizontal monotony of the architrave; while the long low lines of the pediment (higher, however, in Italic than in Greek art) received life from the tall acroteria placed over the centre and at the sides. The same principles make themselves felt in the Baroque: in the long array of statues above Bernini's colonnade in front of St. Peter's, or in those countless others which adorn architrave and pediment of the churches and palaces of the Seicento.

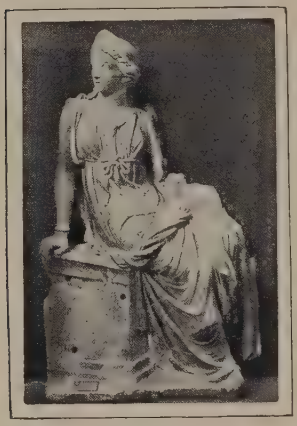

FIG. 136.—GODDESS FROM TERRA-COTTA GROUP.
(Conservatori.)

This short survey of decorative terra-cottas can fitly close with a mention of the eight pedimental figures—apparently a group of divinities present at a sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia—found on the Esquiline and now in the Museum of the Conservatori (Fig. 136). The seated female figure which seems to have formed the centre of the composition is elegantly draped in a chiton, over which is a mantle with dark red border. Two of the small figures, the warrior and the sacrificer, are modelled with great vigour. The dates of these terra-cottas are difficult to determine; they are Romano-Hellenistic in style and probably not much later than the pedimental group at the Villa Giulia, from the so-called temple of Apollo at Civita Castellana.

§ 6. *Statues in Terra-cotta, Toys.*—It now remains to consider briefly the statues in the round executed in terra-cotta. From the temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum again come archaic examples worthy to rank with the Apollo of Veii; such as the head with right shoulder of a bearded Jupiter (Fig. 137), akin in style to late sixth-century Attic sculpture, which may have been the central figure of a Capitoline triad, since fragments of an Athena with ægis and gorgoneion have likewise been found. A few later terra-cottas deserving of attention may be grouped together here: among them the "Dionysus leaning on a Satyr" in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; and the fine bearded head, probably of Jupiter, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge from the sanctuary of Nemi (Fig. 117). A head in the Villa Giulia of fourth-century Greek character, and coloured a deep red, possibly belonged to a sepulchral statue; this seems certain of the head at Oxford (Ashmolean Museum) representing a youth, pensively leaning his cheek on his right hand, found in the Esquiline cemetery. The two large terra-cottas—statues of Jupiter and of Juno (Deonna, Figs. 16, 17) and a bust of Minerva—found at Pompeii as far back as 1760 within the temple of Æsculapius, probably formed a Capitoline Triad; a well-preserved Mercury about life-size in the Museo Gregoriano seems of third-century date (Deonna, Fig. 15); a seated Hercules is in the Museum of Perugia; while a colossal male torso in the British Museum—the only known terra-cotta on so large a scale—may be as late as the second

FIG. 137.—BEARDED HEAD FROM STATUE.
(Villa Giulia.)

FIG. 138.—TERRA-COTTA STATUE FROM PORTA LATINA.
(British Museum.)

century. To a still later period also belong various figures found in 1767 near the Porta Latina, now in the British Museum (Fig. 138). Besides two terminal busts of the bearded Dionysus in the archaistic style of the first century, they include a seated Athena and several female figures identified as Muses, and, like so many of the Muse statues in our collections, possibly intended to adorn tombs. The style of all these is that of ordinary marble copies or adaptations of Greek sculpture. For religious purposes terra-cottas probably lasted far down into the Empire; almost every temple site has yielded large quantities of votive offerings in this material. Among this *stipe votiva* are figurines of every kind, including animals, but the execution is often so sketchy and rough that the period is hard to determine. A number again are good reproductions of cultus statues or of statues dedicated within the temples; such is the charming little Diana in the pose of the Praxitelean "Satyr at rest" found at Nemi.

Toys with the generic name of *sigilla*, dolls or *pupæ*, *oscilla* or masks, were made of terra-cotta and in the poorer quarters of Pompei, where bronze statuettes would have been too expensive a luxury, terra-cottas are lavishly employed as decorations of gardens, wall niches, etc.

§ 7. *Mural Slabs in Terra-cotta.*—The terra-cotta mural reliefs with figure subjects that first came into vogue as decorations of temples, houses, etc., in the first century B.C. next claim our attention. Their subjects fall into four main classes: (1) mythological scenes, (slaying of Actæon by his hounds; rescue of Andromeda by Perseus; discovery of his father's weapons by Thesus; rape of Helen; Piram in the tent of Achilles; building of the Argo; Orestes on the Delphic Omphalos, etc.). (2) Mythological or other figures used decoratively, (busts and figures of Eros; Dionysiac masks and masks of Pan; busts of Athena and Hera; figures of Victory; Satyrs and priestesses flanking a candelabrum; Dionysus with his panther; etc.). (3) A third group reflects contemporary Egyptian fashions and gives pictures of Egyptian gods,temples and landscapes. (4) A fourth and later series reproduces scenes from the circus, the arena, the theatre, and on occasion from a military triumph. These reliefs were fashionable in the last century of the Republic and under the Empire. As plaques they were let into walls, or they might be combined in series to form a sort of valance or hanging frieze running along the top of a wall. Some of the examples are of great beauty and probably reproduce celebrated works of art. A favourite subject, shown in Fig. 139, is of a Bacchante and a Satyr who are dancing with uplifted torch and thyrsus as they swing the liknon-shaped cradle wherein sits the infant Dionysus. Equally popular

was the motive of the infancy of Jupiter, who is represented as a tender nursling, seated on the ground, and raising tiny hands in childish glee at the sound of the war dance of the Curetes (Fig. 140). A severer version of this subject occurs on the marble altar in the Capitol with scenes from the education of Jupiter. The dancing Satyr and nymph are likewise descended from the figures of dancing Bacchantes on late fifth-century reliefs. Of a more purely decorative character is the group of two satyrs poised on tip-toe to reach up to the contents of a bowl placed on a high stem (Fig. 141); the quality of the drawing is of the first order, and the tense line of the body pleasingly contrasts with the intricate design of the vine tendrils. The "Athena superintending the building of the ship Argo" is a good example of

FIG. 139.—MURAL SLAB.
(British Museum.)

FIG. 140.—MURAL SLAB.
(British Museum.)

FIG. 141.—MURAL SLAB.
(Conservatori.)

mythological narration (Fig. 142), while still another is the charming

subject of Theseus and Æthra, recently acquired by the British Museum (Fig. 143).

These plaques apparently continued in fashion as late as the age of Caracalla, but type and style varied curiously little The efflorescence of this kind of relief coincides with the middle of the first century, and is contemporary with the wall-paintings of the so-called Pompeian second style and with the earlier of the Roman series of the marble picture reliefs.

FIG. 142.—MURAL SLAB.
(British Museum.)

FIG. 143.—MURAL SLAB.
(British Museum.)

Any account of Italic fictile work, however slight, must include a mention at least of the pottery which from the third century B.C. onwards was introduced into Italy in imitation of the Greek vases of Megara and Samos. The chief fabric was at Cales (Calvi) in Campania. Like their Greek prototypes, these Calenian wares were intended by means of their lustrous black varnish to compete with and imitate metal. The commonest shapes are the deep bowl with an embossed frieze round the interior representing a mythological scene, or an emblema in high relief at the bottom. The Calenian potters not infrequently signed their wares. Among the names we find those of L. Canoleios, L. Filius Calenus (on a flat cup in Naples adorned with Erotes hunting); of C. Popilius, who had his potter's shops both at Otricoli and Mevania (Bevagna); of L. Atinius, L. Quintus, etc. Though occasionally a genuine Roman subject like the Wolf and the Twins (cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases, IV, G. 125) makes its appearance on these Calenian wares, yet they remain in close touch with their Hellenic models. They are mainly

interesting to the student of Roman art as having been the source whence in the Augustan period were derived the famous vases known as Aretine from their chief centre of production, which we shall consider in the chapter on the minor arts of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods.

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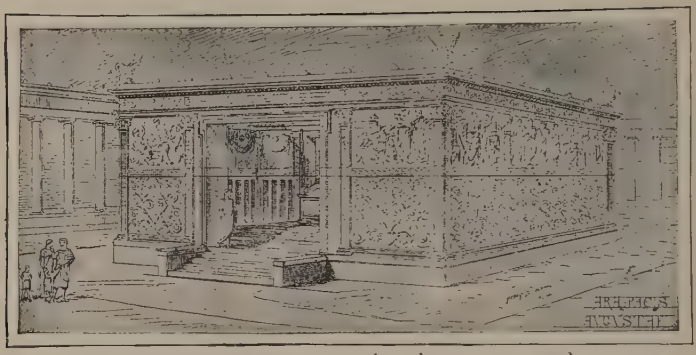


FIG. 144.—ARA PACIS AUGUSTÆ. (DURM'S RECONSTRUCTION).

CHAPTER VIII

AUGUSTUS—THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM AND THE CULT OF APOLLO—THE REACTION TOWARDS LATIN TRADITIONS

In the preceding chapters we have studied the different influences that helped to form Italic art during the pre-Imperial epoch. We have watched the efforts of a series of great men from Appius Claudius down to Cæsar to secure in the beauty of the capital and the grandeur of its monuments a visible manifestation and guarantee of the grandeur of the State. In their attempt to bring Rome into the circle of Hellenic civilization they found a constant source of inspiration in Greece itself and in the Orient. Augustus went further and understand from the first that, without seeming to interrupt the policy of his predecessors, he must make Rome the centre of its own dominion and transfer thither the artistic activities of the Greek world; the city, he thought, must no longer be fashioned on the model furnished by civilizations not its own. The moment for this fundamental change occurred after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), four year before the final reorganization of the Empire when Augustus was invested with the supreme power. This victory, gained by the grace of Apollo, the patron of Octavian, had an effect upon the entire Augustan age, which was manifest in the Emperor's building policy.

§ 1. *Augustus and his Plans for the Reconstruction of Rome.*—The disastrous civil wars provided Augustus with a wide field of activity, not only in Rome but throughout the whole of Italy. In the capital itself numerous temples were in ruins, and the great work of reconstruction undertaken by Cæsar had been suspended or abandoned. After Actium, however, Italy gained new hopes of a lasting peace and Augustus saw his chance of executing his plans for the reconstruction and embellishment of the city. He is said to have boasted at the end of his life that he had found a city of brick and had left it of marble. This statement, like all attempts to condense into an epigram the tendencies of a whole period, must be accepted with reserve. To Augustus, perhaps, as he glanced back over all his activities as a restorer and a constructor, the facts might well appear in this light. In reality the transformation was not so radical. To substitute marble regularly for the less splendid earlier materials was simply to develop a fashion which had been gradually making its way into Rome in imitation of Hellenistic buildings. The discovery and working of the quarries of Carrara marble had, moreover, influenced the Emperor's predilection for the nobler building material. At the same time the introduction of marble did no more than affect the decorative parts of a building—its pilasters, its columns and the veneering of its walls. The integral parts of the structure, it has been recently pointed out, remained of concrete or of brick, two materials which were radically modified and improved under Augustus. In this as much as in the use of marble lies the importance of the Augustan period in the history of Roman architecture.

Augustus was singularly careful never to spring innovations on the public. With characteristic prudence he began by completing the plans already mapped out by Cæsar, and thus secured for his own schemes that popular approval which is most easily quickened through an appeal to sentiment. The rôle of *pius Æneas* suited both his policy and his tastes, and he played it well. No man was ever more ably seconded than he in his enterprises. At his side, as coadjutor, stood Agrippa, his son-in-law and lifelong friend. The movement was further aided by a number of distinguished and devoted personages who contributed out of their own means to rebuild or adorn the capital in accordance with the Emperor's ideas, a situation comparable to that created by the building operations of Martin V or Louis XIV, whose enthusiasm was so catching that the cardinals of the one and the great nobles of the other emulated the generous splendour of their master. The Empress Livia, Octavia the Emperor's sister, Cornelius

Balbus, L. Cornificius, Asinius Pollio, M. Philippus, Statilius Taurus, Tiberius, co-regent for a time and eventually successor of Augustus, are only a few of the brilliant galaxy who helped to bring about the embellishment of Rome desired by the Emperor.

Some of these, like Plancus who had rebuilt the temple of Saturn in 44 B.C., had been active in the time of Cæsar, while even the period of the civil wars had not been as barren of building enterprises as it is generally represented. For instance, after being destroyed a second time by fire in 36 B.C., the old Regia or House of the Pontifex Maximus was splendidly restored by Domitius Calvinus after his Spanish campaign of the years 39–36 B.C. The style of the fragments which may be seen lying about almost *in situ* is the purest Augustan, the first-century decoration having been evidently utilized in the later restorations under Septimius Severus.

FIG. 145.—ROMAN BATTLESHIPS. FRIEZE FROM PALESTRINA.
(Vatican.)

Again, under the fourth consulship of Augustus, in 31 B.C., Statilius Taurus, one of the generals of Actium, had in the very year of the battle begun to build an amphitheatre near or on the site, it is believed, of the present Monte Citorio. A memorial of the actual battle seems to have survived in a fragment of a frieze of ships now in the Vatican (Fig. 145); it is of Augustan date and was found within the ruins of the temple of Palestrina.

The way was prepared for the work which Augustus energetically took in hand, supported by his friends and his family. In 29 B.C. he dedicated the Curia Julia, the new Senate House planned by Cæsar to replace the old Comitium. A gold or gilt-bronze statue of Victory, the same, it is said, which Marcellus had brought from Tarentum, was placed inside by the altar at which the Senators took the oath (p. 128), while the pediment—as shown on the coins—was crowned by a Victory on a globe, which may have been a copy of the Tarentine image within. The bronze doors (Fig. 146) removed from the Curia in the seventeenth century to form the central door of the Lateran Basilica, probably belong to the restoration of the

Curia under Domitian, as a coin of that Emperor was found between the panels. The new Rostra, which had been removed by Cæsar to the east end of the Forum, were dedicated in 42 B.C., by Octavian, but what we now see has been so much altered by subsequent emperors that it has little importance as a monument of the Augustan period. The temple vowed to Cæsar by the Triumvirs in 42 B.C., on the appearance of the flaming comet, was finished and dedicated by Octavian himself as the crowning act of the triple Triumph of 29 B.C. (Fig. 147). The temple was Ionic with a façade of six columns; in front of it, in the hollow of a high podium flanked by two staircases which led up to the platform, stood the altar, on the spot where the Dictator's body had been burnt; the podium itself was adorned with the beaks of the ships captured at Actium.

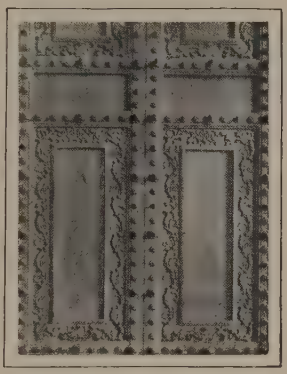


FIG. 146.—BRONZE DOOR OF CURIA. (St. John Lateran.)

The surviving architectural fragments of the temple have recently been shown to belong not to a later reconstruction, as was formerly thought, but to the original building. Careful comparison reveals the close connection between its mouldings and those of the temple of Saturn and the restored Regia, which likewise date from the second Triumvirate. The roughness of the marble technique is therefore a mark of inexperience rather than of decadence; the limited skill of Roman masons could not yet keep pace with that increased demand for marble buildings, which as we have seen was characteristic of the schemes of Augustus.

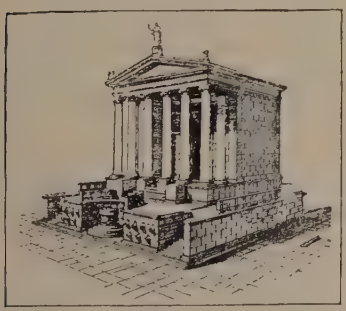


FIG. 147.—TEMPLE OF CÆSAR. (HÜLSEN.)

§ 2. *Temples.*—When the Senate entrusted him in 28 B.C. with the rebuilding or restoration of eighty-two temples, Augustus might well accept the task with zest, certain that he could justify the confidence reposed in him.

He acutely realized that any reorganization of the State or renovation of the city's monuments must be on a religious basis. It is instructive to watch how he set about accomplishing his task; his real love of the old Roman traditions and his profound reverence for the gods reassured the most conservative. He began by making the venerable cult of Vesta his special care, and went on to restore the temples of the Capitol. After having satisfied the claims of the traditional religion by restoring various old shrines, he built and dedicated in 28 B.C., close to his own home on the Palatine, the temple which is most intimately connected with his name, and which stands as symbol of his religious policy. It was dedicated to Apollo, the giver of victory at Actium, who was henceforth called after his Roman seat, Apollo Palatinus, in visible fulfilment of the Virgilian prophecy of 42 B.C.: *tuus iam regnat Apollo* (*Ecl.*, iv. 10). It is now generally admitted that the temple stood on the high ground to the south of the House of Augustus, on the site formerly identified as that of the temple of Jupiter Victor. The podium was supported on a partially artificial platform whose substructures, with the imposing flight of steps (restored) leading up to the front of the temple, are all that now remains.

The vanished splendour of the Palatine temple may be gathered from contemporary poets. Its portico was adorned with statues; round the altar in front of the temple, four bronze bulls by the Athenian Myron stood as if waiting to be sacrificed, and also perhaps to recall Apollo as divine herdsman. Here also was the statue of the Actian god, represented singing lyre in hand, while in the pediment he appeared as Sun-god in his quadriga, illuminating with his rays the new Orbis Romanus; in the cella stood a still more sacred image of the god richly robed and holding the lyre. This work had been brought from Greece and was attributed to Scopas; the god stood on a basis between Leto his mother and Artemis his sister. This Palatine group seems to be represented on a relief in the Museum of Sorrento (Fig. 148). Within the basis were enclosed the "Sibylline leaves," collected and copied anew and significantly transferred from the Capitoline temple to the Palatine. The Palatine foundation meant that Apollo and all that Apollo stood for were no longer to be looked upon as foreign elements. The god who was lord of the Sibylline books had so far been treated as an alien, and only allowed a temple outside the *pomœrium*, but now at the nod of the *Princeps*, Apollo was to be lodged on the hill whose historical and religious antiquity was represented as equal to that of the Capitol. The two temples confronted one another, emblems respectively of the old Law and

the New, and Apollo Palatinus, his mother and his sister, in their cella on the Palatine formed the new triad destined to rival the time-honoured Three in the tripartite cella of the Capitol. At the same time it would be an error to suppose that the Palatine stood over against the Capitol as the embodiment of a new Hellenic spirit in contrast to the Roman. Here again, as so often, Augustus was not altogether an innovator, but gave form and substance to already existing elements; the Sibyl, who during the first centuries of Rome had been the instrument of foreign influence, was now linked closely with Apollo and received, we might say, her rights of Latin citizenship, and on the Sorrentine relief mentioned above she is shown crouching at the feet of the new Palatine deities. In bringing Apollo to the heart of Rome and in filling the god's precinct with precious examples of Greek art, Augustus was not striving, as so many had done before him, to introduce Greek art in the wake of a Greek cult; his aim was rather to substitute Rome for Greece; the temple of Apollo Palatinus was the token that the headship of the spiritual world had passed from Greece and Greek lands to Rome. Many among his predecessors had likewise understood the importance of art and culture for a nation's development; but Augustus surpassed the Scipios and the Gracchi and the whole group of Republican philhellenes in perceiving that a borrowed culture is not enough, that to be effective the culture must take root in the country itself. This seems the only reasonable explanation of the origins of Imperial art; the Augustan Apollo was the symbol of the new spiritual power of Rome; and nothing is more significant of this than the fact that the god's statue in the Palatine Library, close to the temple, bore the actual features of the Emperor, in discreet allusion, maybe, to the divine paternity of Augustus, whose mother, it was openly hinted, had been loved by Apollo in the guise of a snake. Who knows but that Augustus had already been initiated into mysteries which, like those of the Pythagoreans, gave prominence to the cult of Apollo and tended to introduce a purer religious atmosphere?

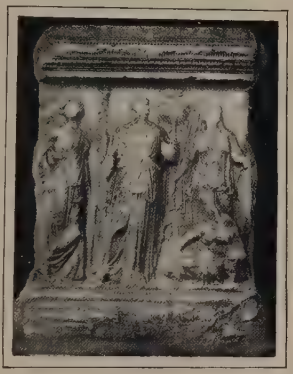


FIG. 148.—THE PALATINE TRIAD. BASE AT SORRENTO.

Yet if Apollo was more especially the patron of Augustus, the other gods of his dynasty were not forgotten. In 27 B.C., a year after the dedication of the Palatine temple, Agrippa, the Emperor's close friend and counsellor, erected on the West side of the Campus Martius the celebrated Pantheon (All Holiest) in honour of Mars and Venus, tutelary deities and acknowledged ancestors of the Julian gens. Statues of both gods and of the deified Cæsar stood in the cella, and statues of Augustus and Agrippa in the vestibule. Caryatids by the Athenian sculptor Diogenes supported the roof; and it has been surmised that the Mars and Venus were part of a series representing the seven planets, the popularity of whose cult under Augustus is elsewhere attested. Of this Augustan building nothing positive is known beyond the fact that it was decastyle; otherwise authorities are not agreed even as to its plan or its orientation. It seems possible, however, to form some notion of its ten-columned façade from two fragments of relief respectively in the Lateran and the Terme, which show an Emperor accompanied by lictors passing in front of a temple of which one half with its five columns is still preserved. These fragments, which are attributed on good grounds to the Julio-Claudian period (see Fig. 195), may well represent the Agrippan temple.[1] Moreover, a monument designed to glorify the family of a ruler eager to figure as the "new Romulus" could not have been better decorated than by the group of the Wolf and the Twins which we see on the pediment of the Terme fragment.

The first Pantheon was damaged by fire under Titus (A.D. 80), and again in 110 under Trajan; in the time of Hadrian it was finally superseded by the existing Rotunda. Yet the Hadrianic porch still bears the inscription: M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT, transferred presumably from the original building.

It is with another temple restored by Augustus that we should perhaps connect a fragment of relief also in the Museo delle Terme (Paribeni 610) dating in all probability from the time of Hadrian. On the pediment of a Doric temple we are shown the *augurium augustum* or "Omen of the Birds" (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 48): a flight of birds occupies the centre of the composition, while at the sides are on the one hand Romulus accompanied by Jupiter, Mars and Victory, and on the other Remus with Mercury Silvanus and Faustulus, watching for the portent. Just as the "Wolf and the Twins" was a subject particularly suited to the Pantheon of the *Gens Julia*, so the "Omen of the Birds"

[1] This theory must, of course, be abandoned if the Augustan portico can be proved to have been octostyle like the Hadrianic (see Ashby, *s.v.* Pantheon in *Top. Dict.*).

appears more appropriate than any other subject to the temple of the Sabine god Quirinus, long since associated with Romulus. This temple we know was restored in 16 B.C. by the "new Romulus" in honour of the mythical founder of Rome; we also know from Vitruvius that it stood upon the Quirinal on a site now covered by the gardens of the royal palace, and that it was octostyle and of the Doric order, like the temple represented on the relief.

FIG. 149.—COLUMNS OF TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR (BEFORE RESTORATION.)

As far back as the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., Augustus as Octavian had vowed to Mars the Avenger a temple which—owing to the difficulties encountered in obtaining the site—was only finished and dedicated forty years later, in 2 B.C. The temple stood in the Forum of Augustus, the walls of which still rise in places almost to their full height; it was of the Corinthian order and of its stately columns three are still in position (Fig. 149). The cult figure may very well survive in a statue now in the Capitoline Museum though, to judge by the details of the armour, this is a copy of second-century date (Fig. 150). The Forum of Augustus with its temple of Mars Ultor adjoined on the North-east the Forum of Cæsar with its temple of Venus Genitrix, and the one was as it were the complement of the other. Just as in the temple built by Cæsar, Venus was honoured as mother of Anchises and ancestress of the Julian gens, so in the neighbouring temple erected by the nephew of Cæsar, Mars, father of the royal Twins, was honoured as the avenger who had granted to the descendants of Anchises to triumph over their enemies.

FIG. 150.—STATUE OF MARS ULTOR.
(Capitol.)

The magnificent remains of this Forum are at present being disengaged. Part of the high encircling wall and one of its entrance arches (Arco dei Pantani) are familiar features. The ground-plan is

a further elaboration of the temple and Forum scheme: by placing the temple, as here, right against the back wall of the enclosure, the latter assumes the character of a temple precinct. In this respect Baalbek, primitive Christian churches, and, in the Renascence, the colonnaded Piazza of St. Peter's, derive from the Imperial Fora. The two apses of the Forum of Augustus are likewise characteristic features; apses and exedras reappear in the Forum of Trajan, and of course at Baalbek.

We may now refer more briefly to other Augustan temples. The Capitol never ceased to be an object of the Emperor's veneration. Near the entrance a marble temple to Jupiter the Thunderer was put up in 26 B.C. in gratitude for the Emperor's escape during a storm in the Cantabrian expeditions. In 20 B.C. a shrine was erected to Mars Ultor for the reception of the recovered Parthian standards until the large temple in the Augustan Forum should be ready. This earlier shrine was circular, as many coins show.

[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 151.—ROMAN FORUM LOOKING N. E.

The restoration by Augustus in A.D. 3 of the temple of the Magna Mater has already been discussed (p. 43). The façade is reproduced on a coin of the younger Faustina, and on one of the Della Valle reliefs (p. 166), which shows its six Corinthian columns, the pediment with the goddess's throne flanked by her Galli, and on the roof acroterial figures in Phrygian attire. Little by little Republican buildings were being reconstructed or transformed (Fig. 151). For example, the old-fashioned peperino columns of the temple of the Castores, which Cicero had twitted Verres with desiring to straighten, seemed doubtless out of harmony with the surrounding splendour, and the old building that commemorated the victory of Regillus was restored on a more sumptuous scale and in marble by Tiberius in A.D. 6; the three Corinthian columns (Fig. 152) now standing, and the fragments of the rich entablature that lie on the site, are purely Augustan in their simple elegance, though, from having been used again in the restoration under Hadrian, they have sometimes been falsely attributed to a later period (cf. above p. 3).[1] In A.D. 10 Tiberius undertook to restore on

[1] The temple is octostyle and peripteral, and is reckoned the most beautiful example of its kind in Rome.

a magnificent scale the ancient Temple of Concord. In order to obtain more space the new ground plan differed from the usual type in having the axis of the cella at right angles to that of the main door facing the Forum. Among its architectural fragments, now in the Museum of the Tabularium, a piece of the splendid cornice and the bases and capitals of certain columns of the cella (Fig. 153) are specially noteworthy. These capitals, which display figures of rams rising from the volutes, show the fantastic variations introduced by Roman architects into the Corinthian style. This short account of the more important temples built or rebuilt by Augustus is all that can be given here; considerations of space alone would prevent our enumerating the eighty-two temples which the Senate entrusted to his care.

FIG. 152.—COLUMNS OF TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

§ 3. *Mausolea, Tombs and Tropæa.*—To give a new dignity to the dwelling-place of the dead was as much a care of the Augustan age as to make splendid temples of the gods. Here again the Emperor gave the lead. As early as 29 B.C., for instance, before the establishment of the Principate, but in the year of his triple Triumph and the dedication of the temple to Cæsar, Augustus had built on the site to the left of the Via Lata the famous round Mausoleum of the Julian family, which, after successive transformations into fortress and pleasure gardens during the Middle Ages and the Renascence, and into theatre and circus in more modern times, survives as Rome's concert hall (Fig. 154). Though the antique portions are mutilated, yet enough remains—with the help of Strabo's classic description—to make clear plan

FIG. 153.—CAPITAL OF COLUMN OF TEMPLE OF CONCORD.
(Tabularium.)

and elevation. The mausoleum moreover is at present being disengaged and freed from recent unnecessary disfigurements. A square base supported a cylindrical drum of brickwork faced with travertine, which enclosed the central tomb chamber. Above the roof rose a conical mound divided into ledges planted with evergreens up to the summit where stood a gilt bronze statue of Augustus. The shape illustrates the Emperor's tastes and tendencies. He rejected direct imitation of Hellenistic buildings, such as the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and chose instead a modified version of the circular Italic mound with its enclosing wall. The Augustan Mausoleum inspired private people to erect tombs of a similar character. The familiar monument on the Appian Way (Fig. 155), on whose dedicatory tablet we read the words *Cæciliæ Q. Cretici filiæ Metellæ Crassi* (Cecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Creticus and wife of Crassus), is almost a counterpart of the Augustan Mausoleum, and dates from about the same period. It too consists of a circular structure on a square basement, and it is faced with travertine. The frieze of swags suspended from ox-heads or bucrania is in a technique midway between the heavier garlands of the tomb of Bibulus (p. 84) and the delicate wreaths of the Ara Pacis. Closely resembling the tomb of Cecilia Metella is the monument at Gaeta erected by L. Munatius Plancus, the founder of Lugdunum and the restorer of the temple of Saturn, and still better known as the friend of Horace. Another circular tomb is that of the Plautii near the Ponte Lucano on the road to Tivoli (Fig. 156); yet another is that of Lucius Pætus:

FIG. 154.—MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS (BEFORE RESTORATION).

FIG. 155.—TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA.

part of the lower course of its masonry may still be seen on the left of the Via Salaria, nearly opposite to the Villa Albani. In connection with round mausolea a word must be said concerning Augustan *tropæa*. These structures were not only memorials of victory; they also commemorated the glorious dead, as their circular shape itself implies. They are mostly in the Provinces and therefore outside the scope of this book; we need only mention La Turbie, in the French Alps, commemorating the final victory of Augustus over the Alpine tribes in 12 B.C.

The tomb so long known as that of Arruns on the right of the road from Albano to Genzano affords another variation of the Italic or Etruscan type of tomb which found favour under Augustus: its first-century date is clear from the moulding of its basis, but the five conical cippi whose remains still adorn it are in the Etruscan manner and seem intended to produce an effect of great antiquity. There are frequent allusions in literature to Augustus' love of the archaic. He placed works by the archaic Greek sculptors Bupalus and Sthennis as acroteria on the temple of the Palatine Apollo, and, according to Pliny, in almost all the temples that he built. This attention to archaic art was part of a deep-rooted belief that the example of the past is the best incentive to present endeavour.

FIG. 156.—TOMB OF THE PLAUTII.

§ 4. *Altars.*—Thus far we have dealt with temples and mausolea. An important class of Augustan monuments still remains to be discussed. These are the large open-air altars which were now erected all over the Empire; at Lugdunum, for example, at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône, where Drusus set up an altar which dates from the same period as the Ara Pacis in Rome and which was the meeting-place as well as the religious and political centre of the *Tres Galliæ* down to the time of Septimus Severus and perhaps even later. The open-air altar was one of those Latin institutions which go back to the remotest antiquity; we need only mention the Volcanal in the Roman Forum, the altar of Hercules in the Forum Boarium, the *Ara Ditis in Tarento*. But their trans-

formation into monuments worthy of the name must be ascribed to the Hellenization of Rome and to the influence of the great open-air altars of Asia Minor. The famous altar of Pergamum, a town which had belonged to the Roman State since 133 B.C., must have been especially familiar to the Romans and left its mark upon their monumental conception of the altar.

In 19 B.C. an altar to *Fortuna Redux* was erected by the Senate outside the Porta Capena to commemorate the Emperor's safe return from the East. But though literature records the ceremonial pomp with which the Pontifex Maximus and Vestals offered up prayers on October 12 each year for the safety of the Emperor, we possess no vestige of the structure itself. The monumental altar set up by Augustus in 17 B.C. (the memorable year that saw the publication of the Æneid) to commemorate the reorganization of the *Ludi Sæculares*, now combined with the old *Ludi Tarentini*, was an event of the first importance in the history of Roman art and religion, since it marks the connection of one of the most ancient sites in the city with the new centre of worship inaugurated by Augustus on the Palatine. The sacrifices at the Tarentum occupied three nights, when offerings were made to the Fates, to the Ilithyiæ and to the Terra Mater; on two of the three days offerings were made to Jupiter and Juno on the Capitol, and on the third to Apollo and Diana in their new seat on the Palatine. On this occasion was sung the Carmen Sæculare written by Horace. The influence exerted upon art by such processions as this and the similar one represented upon the Ara Pacis cannot be over-estimated. Liturgy is ordered movement and processions were as characteristic of Paganism (the Parthenon frieze, for example) as they afterwards were of Catholic Christianity. On the occasion of the new *Ludi* a great altar was erected on the site of the old Tarentum in the Campus Martius, but exactly where, remains uncertain. Modern building operations between the Chiesa Nuova and the Tiber, have brought to light fine peperino foundations belonging to an enclosing wall and one of the two *pulvini* of an altar now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Since their discovery in 1886–87 it had been confidently supposed that these remains belonged to the *Ara Ditis*, but more recent research has thrown doubt upon this; an altar dedicated to the gods of the under-world would probably be beneath the ground, while it appears from Ovid that the real site should be looked for closer to the Tiber and nearer the Palatine (*Fasti*, I, 501, 497 *f.* and 641 *f*).

Still more important, from the considerable surviving remains, was the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*, voted by the Senate in 13 B.C. in gratitude

for the safe return of Augustus from Gaul and Spain. It stood in the Campus Martius to the left of the Via Lata on the site of the modern Palazzo Fiano. It was solemnly consecrated on January 30, 9 B.C., by the Emperor in person, attended by the priestly colleges, the Vestal Virgins, and the great officers of State. The altar itself was raised on a platform surrounded by a walled precinct decorated within and without by richly sculptured friezes, of which several slabs have come to light at different times; these were arranged in two superimposed tiers. Of the inner friezes the lower was cut into vertical groovings, imitated, it is thought, from the boarding of the temporary enclosure put up for the feast of dedication in 13 B.C. Above these grooves ran a double key-pattern, and above this again a frieze of rich swags suspended from ox skulls or bucrania (Fig. 157; Sc. R., figs. 25, 26). These were imitated doubtless from the actual garlands suspended between the wooden pillars, upon which were nailed real ox skulls in the earlier temporary structure. Of the two outer friezes, the lower one is decorated with delicate scrolls of acanthus, ending in broad-petalled flowers—peonies and poppies among them—or in rich bunches of ivy berries, while others support the Apolline swan with wings outstretched (Fig. 158). The upper frieze was adorned on the North and South sides with the famous reliefs of processions. These are imagined moving in two halves round the enclosure. Here one may see the Emperor accompanied by his lictors (Fig. 159) and followed by the college of the Flamines, by the Vestal Virgins and by his family, young *camilli* carrying their incense boxes, and beautiful youths. The most ingenious attempts have been made to interpret

FIG. 157.—SWAGS OF ARA PACIS. (Terme.)

FIG. 158.—LOWER OUTER FRIEZE OF ARA PACIS. (Terme.) (Detail.)

these various personages, among whom it is proposed to discover Julia and Agrippa, Livia and Tiberius, Drusus and the younger Antonia, the elder Antonia and her husband Domitius Ahenobarbus accompanied by their children. But the identifications seem very uncertain. Possibly nothing was intended beyond a generalized representation of the Imperial family and household on the South side, and on the North of a Senatorial group followed by a crowd of more miscellaneous character. This intrusion of a crowd upon the footsteps of the Emperor is entirely in the Roman spirit, and strikes a new note; the Emperor, the *Princeps Optimus*, now appears surrounded by his people, who are of all ages, from the old man, identified without shadow of reason as Mæcenas, to the children of tender years who can scarcely walk. In the Ara Pacis the child makes a triumphant entry into art and attains a position from which he has never been dislodged. He is no longer the diminutive man or woman of Greek art, nor are his charm and grace those of the conventional Hellenistic *putti*, but real childhood in its infinite variety is pictured here; now we see a baby toddling along as best he can, almost lifted from the ground by the strong hand that pulls him along (Fig. 160); a little girl walks demurely holding a stiff nosegay, and in front of her an older boy steps briskly forward; similarly among the Imperial children we see a tiny boy holding on to the cloak of the man in front of him; a small elder sister smiles as she bids her little brother behave himself, while a young mother or attendant in

FIG. 159.—AUGUSTUS FROM ARA PACIS.
(Terme.)

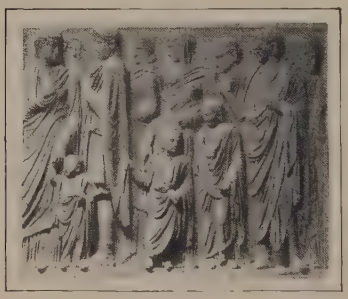


FIG. 160.—PART OF IMPERIAL PROCESSION.
ARA PACIS.
(Uffizi.)

the back-ground places a hand in tender admonishment on the head of another child.

The precinct of the Ara had two entrances closed by doors, one on the east, and one on the west. Here pictorial relief groups of allegorical figures or else mythological episodes adorned the walls. One of the best preserved is the "Terra Mater between the fertilizing spirits of Air and Water" (Fig. 161), in the Uffizi at Florence, "symbolizing the creative forces of nature as restored and protected by Augustus" (Rostowzew). She is the Earth Mother whom the Italian so closely identifies with his native soil, the Tellus of whom Horace sings in the *Carmen Sæculare:*

FIG. 161.—"SISTER EARTH, OUR MOTHER." ARA PACIS. (Uffizi.)

> Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
> Spicea donet Cererem corona
> Nutriant fœtus et aquæ salubris
> Et Jovis auræ.

She is "the Sister Earth, our Mother" of the mediæval poet saint:

> Laudate si, mi signore per suora nostra, matre terra
> La quale ne sustenta e governa
> E produce diversi fructi e colorati fiore e erba.

Another slab in a good state of preservation is the "Æneas and the Miracle of the Sow" of the Terme Museum (Fig. 162). The sow was traditional; Varro mentions a bronze group at Lanuvium of a sow with thirty young; and there may be a reminiscence of it in the group at the Vatican (H.-A. 176; Sc. R., fig. 14), which in its turn has points in common

FIG. 162.—THE SACRIFICE OF ÆNEAS. ARA PACIS. (Terme.)

with the Grimani reliefs. The new sense of life and movement observable in the Ara Pacis, the fine arrangement of the groups, the life-likeness imparted to the faces by plastic indications of the pupil of the eye and the mobility of the glance, do not quite compensate for a certain awkwardness of composition arising, as on the reliefs of Domitius, from the desire to juxtapose ideal and real scenes without attempting amalgamation as in Trajanic and later art.

FIG. 163.—ROMA ON ALTAR AT CARTHAGE.

To the same class belongs the altar set up at Carthage in a temple of the gens Augusta. It was doubtless imitated from some altar in Rome and has recently been rendered famous by Rostowzew's disquisition. The altar is carved on all four sides with scenes and figures symbolic of the Augustan era and its policy: on the principal face the goddess Roma is shown sitting on a pile of arms holding in her extended right hand a symbolic pillar and shield brought down by Victory; in front of the goddess is an altar loaded with the symbolic cornucopiæ, caduceus and globe (Fig. 163). Roma thus appears here as guardian of the orb, as the *orbis domina*—the title still given her in mediæval hymns. At the back, facing his own tripod, sits the Augustan Apollo; his chair is adorned by griffins against which rests the god's lyre, and in his hand he holds the laurel branch symbolic of the peace which follows upon victory (Fig. 164). On one of the sides we have the favourite subject of Æneas, Anchises and Ascanius; on the other the Emperor himself

FIG. 164.—APOLLO ON ALTAR AT CARTHAGE.

is shown sacrificing in presence of the Lares (see below). The volutes that crown the monument are in the form of two snakes —the familiar *genii* of Augustus and Livia. With these altars we may class the fragments in the Museum of Sorrento, generally regarded as belonging to an oblong statue-basis. They show us a typical assemblage of Augustan divinities. On the side already referred to (p. 131, Fig. 148), we see the Palatine triad —Apollo between Leto and Artemis—while the prophetic Sibyl, whose leaves were now safely housed within the basis of the god's statue, is seen crouching exhausted at their feet. On one of the longer sides the goddess Vesta, whose temple had been restored by Augustus, sits surrounded by her priestesses and other votaries. She is balanced on the opposite side of the basis by Cybele the Magna Mater, seated with her lion at her side and a Corybant behind her, while the dignified figure on the right may be a priestess or a Julian princess. The house on the second narrow face is doubtless that of the Princeps himself on the Palatine; it is guarded by Mars and Roma with Eros between them, while smaller love gods hold up the wreath of oak leaves which Ovid saw nailed on the door-posts. Here again we may have the copy of an altar or basis set up in Rome. There is no doubt that the friezes of the Augustan temples and altars, and the Imperial statuary groups, were often copied or imitated for the provinces, as well as on minor objects, such as cameos (Ch. XII) or silver cups. For instance, the Augustus enthroned between Venus Victrix and Mars on a cup from Boscoreale (Vol. II., p. 39) strikes one as the echo of a group of statues. Another example, though possibly later, is the base of Ravenna (Fig. 137). To the same order of ideas and episodes—harking back perhaps to larger compositions—belong the reliefs of the cuirass of the Augustus of Prima Porta (below, Fig. 216) and of the cuirass of Cherchel (*Sc. R.* Fig. 22). All these reliefs, the originals and the copies, were a grand means of Imperial and religious propaganda.

§ 5. *Altars of Lares: sepulchral altars*—A number of small altars remain as records of the various religious activities of Augustus. One in the Museo dei Conservatori recalls the institution in 7 B.C. of a new festival of the Lares Compitales (*i.e.* the Lares of the fourteen new regions of Rome) which Augustus now associated to the cult of his own *genius:* on the front face is the actual sacrifice, and on each of the sides is the image of a *lar* on a high base (cf. Altar of Carthage). The Lares whose cult was thus dear to Augustus reappear on the sides of an altar in the Uffizi, the front face of which shows the Emperor with Livia and one of the Imperial princes (Fig. 165); another fine altar, in the Vatican, is decorated on the

front with the "Apotheosis of Cæsar": on the back with a Victory between two laurels, on one side with the "Institution of the Lar cult," on the other we see the "Sacrifice of the Sow," with Æneas standing on the right, and seated opposite him on the left, holding the ritual roll, a goddess recently identified as Juno Maxima—herself a form of Terra Mater to whom the sow was sacred (Virg., *Æneid*, viii. 43–45 and 81–84). A variant of the type may be seen on the altar of Manlius at the Lateran (Fig. 166). These altars to the Lares are developments of the temporary altars, such as those painted by Theodotus (cf. Chap. IV), which, replastered and repainted as the occasion demanded, continued in use probably down to the time of the Empire. The durable material of which they were now made reflects the importance of these cults under Augustus, and marks yet another transformation into permanent marble of a temporary perishable structure. Outside Rome there are charming examples of Lar-altars at Ostia (Calza, p. 116) and at Pompei. At Pompei likewise in the temple of the Lares we may still see the high podium on which stood the statue of the Emperor between statues of the Lares. On the altars the *lar* generally carries a laurel branch instead of the usual patera shown on the statuettes. Of these statuettes a good example is in the Museo dei Conservatori (Fig. 167): the *lar* is represented as a youth dancing with a rhyton in one hand and a patera in the other. Of the *Genius Augusti*, whose cult now expanded so rapidly in connection with that of the Lares, there is a fine statue in the Rotonda of the Vatican (H.-A. 304).

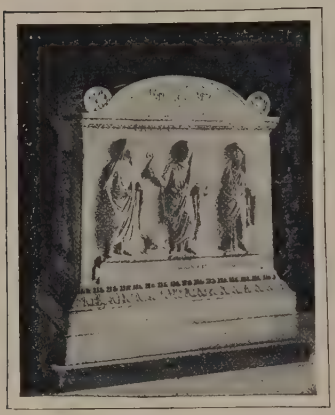
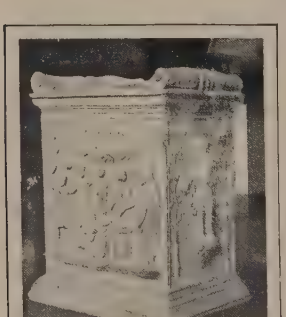


FIG. 165.—AUGUSTUS AS AUGUR ON ALTAR OF LARES.
(Uffizi.)



[*Photo, Moscioni.*
FIG. 166.—ALTAR OF MANLIUS.
(Lateran Museum.)

Closely allied to altars are the decorated bases with scenes of ritual, probably designed to carry tripods; of these there is a beautiful trilateral example in the Louvre (Fig. 168); within each of its recesses is represented a man sacrificing at an altar, while the trees, the palmettes supporting sphinxes, and in fact all the decorative details are purely Augustan. A similar base is in the Capitoline collection; on one of the faces a priest is seen pouring a libation, and on the other sides are an Apolline tripod with an eagle. The laurel recalls once more the Lares and Apollo. Among these altars must be reckoned the famous example in the Terme (*Sc. R.*, pl. XXI.) adorned with a bucranium above interlacing plane branches. The leaves and the ox-skull show Augustan relief in its perfection, while the astonishing naturalism of form and texture is corrected by the severe, decorative quality of the design.

[*Faraglia.*

FIG. 167.—STATUETTE OF LAR.
(Conservatori.)

After the large altars intended for the great ceremonies of the State and those of a less general character consecrated to the cult of lesser divinities such as the *lares* and the *genii*, we must mention the funerary altars connected with the cult of individuals. The tradition of ancestral piety was deeply rooted in the heart of the Roman people, as we saw from the sepulchral reliefs on the tomb of the baker Eurysaces and the sculptures on the monument of the *tibicines*. In the period of Augustus, however, a special impulse was given to the symbolic decoration of funerary altars by the beliefs as to immortality and the ultramundane existence of the soul which then began to find their way into the cult of the dead. Under the influence perhaps of the *Ara Pacis* the sepulchral motive of the garland—always

[*Arti Grafiche.*

FIG. 168.—TRILATERAL ALTAR.
(Louvre.)

dear to the Romans, whose tomb-decoration was conceived as a symbol of resurrection of which flowers are the most perfect expression—constantly assumes a more beautiful form; the angles of the altars are generally ornamented with masks, often bearing the features of Ammon, likewise symbolic of resurrection, with torches to make light permanent and with victories in sign of triumph over death. Among the most telling symbolic reliefs are those of Nereids conducting the soul to the Islands of the Blest, and of Centaurs, creatures of magic and mystery, who strike the lyre of Apotheosis or joyously bear away Eros or the liberated Psyche. From the Augustan to the Flavian epoch the decoration of these altars became steadily richer, but in the second century their place was taken by sarcophagi. Not that these were entirely unknown, it is thought, in the time of Augustus but examples would be difficult to find. Enough has been said to show the trend of Augustan art as a manifestation of the Emperor's religious policy; only a few of its more purely civic or secular monuments need be enumerated here.

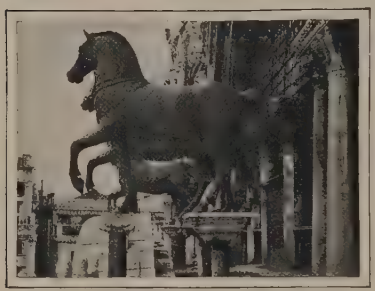


FIG. 169.—HORSES OF ST. MARK, VENICE.

§ 6. *Civic and Secular Monuments.*—The *Arcus Augusti* in the Forum—a triple arch whose travertine foundations were laid bare in 1888—was another monument of the period. It commemorated the restoration of the Parthian standards lost by Crassus, just as in A.D. 17 the *Arcus Tiberi*, a single arch to the North of the Via Sacra below the temple of Saturn, commemorated the recovery by Germanicus of the standards lost by Varus in A.D. 7. Both arches were presumably surmounted by Imperial chariot-groups. One might be tempted to attribute to one or the other of these arches the horses of St. Mark (Fig. 169), from their technique of Augustan date, and among the grandest examples of the horse in sculpture that have come down from the antique.

Between these two arches rose the Basilica Julia, whose eastern part coincided with the site of the old Sempronia (p. 50). It was planned by Cæsar and dedicated in 46 B.C. after the battle of Thapsus, but restored by Augustus after a fire and finally dedicated in memory of his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius. Its ground plan was that of the basilicas which had developed in Greece, under the influence,

it now appears, of Persian models. The length was about thrice the depth. It was surrounded on all sides by a double row of arcades, which rose in two tiers corresponding to the two floors of the building. The arches were divided by pilasters, in front of which stood half columns with Doric capitals; the material was largely marble or revetted with marble. The elevation may be studied from the restored west angle of the edifice. Balancing these superb law-courts, for such was the Basilica Julia, rose the new Basilica Æmilia on the opposite side of the Forum (cf. p. 50); this was in the more strictly Hellenic manner deriving from the classic temple or hall with entrance on one of the narrow ends. The building was restored in 22 B.C. The pure Augustan character of much of the extant decoration is evident. Among the architectural remains are fragments of the entablature, whose metopes display alternate bucrania and sacrificial pateræ, and of the beautiful door-jambs with foliage carved in low relief. Along the south-west side of the basilica, between it and the road, ran a long portico likewise dedicated, as the extant inscription shows, to the Imperial grandsons, Gaius and Lucius. Thus under Augustus the buildings of the Forum acquired a more symmetrical orientation—a further step in the direction of regular town-planning already aimed at by Cæsar and his immediate predecessors.

FIG. 170.—THEATRE OF MARCELLUS (BEFORE RESTORATION).

The system of arcading introduced into Roman building in the Tabularium, the temple of Præneste (p. 76 f.), and the Basilica Julia now developed rapidly. The Theatre of Marcellus (Fig. 170), dedicated in 11 B.C. in memory of Marcellus, son of Octavia the sister of Augustus, is another example of the perfected system, of which the lofty façade of the Colosseum is a still later development. The Theatre of Balbus, near or on the site of the present Palazzo Cenci, was constructed on a similar plan. Near to the theatre dedicated in memory of her son, Octavia undertook the restoration of the portico erected in 149 B.C. by Metellus, the conqueror of Macedonia, to surround the twin temples built by Hermodoros of

Salamis (p. 48). The portico, now called after Octavia, continued to be used as a museum for the ever-accumulating art treasures of the *Urbs*. Its entrance probably had much the same shape as in the later restoration under Septimius Severus (see Vol. II., Fig. 479). At its side, between it and the Theatre of Balbus, rose the Porticus Philippi, erected by Q. Marcius Philippus, the stepfather of Augustus, to enclose the temple of Hercules built by Fulvius Nobilior after the conquest of Ambracia (see p. 73). On the spur of the Esquiline known as the Oppius rose another porticus named after the Empress Livia, with a fountain in its midst. Augustus continued the transformation of the Circus Maximus begun by Cæsar; he is especially credited with the construction of the Imperial pulvinar—still extant on the south-west slope of the Palatine—with various marble additions and with the erection on the *spina* of an obelisk of Rameses III. from Heliopolis (*C.I.L.*, vi., 702). It is now to be seen in the Piazza del Popolo. At the same time, another obelisk, that of Psammetichus II, was brought from Heliopolis, and made the centre of a gigantic sundial with gilt bronze rays. In the eighteenth century it was again set up in the Piazza di Monte Citorio. Egyptian art in Rome was less an influence than a fashion, of which we have another example in the pyramidal tomb of C. Cestius (Fig. 171).

FIG. 171.—PYRAMID OF CESTIUS.

§ 7. *The Campus Martius and the Buildings of Agrippa.*—The most comprehensive scheme of building accomplished by the Augustan age was Agrippa's systematic planning of the Campus Martius to the West of the Via Flaminia, with reference both to his own new buildings and to already existing centres such as the ancient altars of Mars and of Dis *in Tarento*. In this Agrippa appears as the precursor of Nero; though unlike him, and more wisely, he directed his attention to a piece of land outside the city where he could work undisturbed by the fetters of conservative prejudice. Agrippa's Pantheon has already been referred to; on its southern side in the midst of a great park rose his Baths, the central feature of which was a large hall 45×19 metres with an apse 9 metres in diameter. But what now remains, including fragments

of a remarkably well-executed frieze, is probably Hadrianic. The Baths included an extensive picture gallery with a painted ceiling. More to the north a spacious portico surrounded a temple of Neptune on or near the site afterwards occupied by the temple of the deified Hadrian (Vol. II., p. 113); it too, apparently, was in the nature of a picture gallery and was called after a famous masterpiece which represented an episode from the adventures of the Argonauts. Another portico in the same region was named after Vipsania Polla, the sister of Agrippa, or sometimes the portico of Europa after the subject of its mural paintings. Well-laid-out gardens to the west of his baths; the large *Campus Agrippæ* behind the Porticus Vipsania; a bridge, known only from an inscription (*C.I.L.*, vi. 31545); new granaries (*horrea*) recently identified between the *Vicus Tuscus* and the Palatine (Lugli, p. 92); the aqueduct of the *Acqua Virgo* which brought water to the Baths of Agrippa upon arches flanked by columns that carried statues, were among the buildings which Agrippa gave to Augustan Rome.

FIG. 172.—PERUGIA. PORTA AUGUSTA.

FIG. 173.—PERUGIA. PORTA MARZIA.

§ 8. *The Augustan Period in Italy.*—The city of marble was not alone to proclaim the splendour of the new era. All Italy followed the example of the capital, and cities rivalled one another in civic magnificence, though outside Rome, as within the Urbs, the Emperor desired to respect and adopt ancient forms where possible. Thus the gates of Perugia, destroyed during the cruel and disastrous

Bellum Perusinum of 40 B.C., were rebuilt in Etruscan fashion (Fig. 172). The smaller gate, the Porta Marzia (Fig. 173), whose existence we owe to-day to the sound taste and learning of San Gallo, an architect of the Renascence, retains in its attic the typical Etruscan balustrade, with the group of Jupiter between the Dioscuri as guardians of the gate. Hard by at Assisi a fine Augustan temple dedicated to the local Minerva still stands on the site of the old Forum or market-place, occupying presumably the site of an older structure (Fig. 174). Its capitals closely resemble those of the temple of Castor at Cori. Some conception of the splendour of the towns rebuilt or restored by Augustus outside the *Urbs* may be gathered in Rome itself from the portico on the west side of Piazza Colonna, whose magnificent columns were brought from the Augustan Veii.

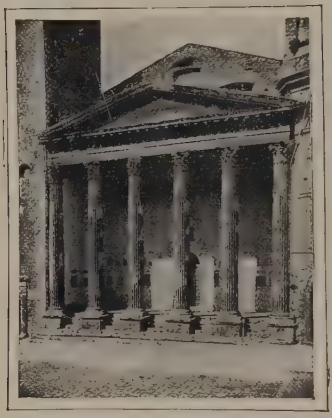


FIG. 174.—ASSISI. TEMPLE OF MINERVA.

The beautiful arch of travertine at Ariminum (Rimini) commemorates the restoration by Augustus in 27 B.C. of the Via Flaminia

FIG. 175.—RIMINI. ARCH OF AUGUSTUS.

FIG. 176.—TURIN. PORTA PALATINA.

(Fig. 175). The design, an arch flanked by engaged Corinthian columns, recalls the Sullan Tabularium and the Augustan basilicas and theatres. In the spandrels are four heads, Jupiter and Juno on the one side, Minerva and Neptune on the other. At Rimini likewise is the magnificent bridge begun by Augustus and finished under Tiberius in A.D. 20. To the same period belong the fortified city gates of Turin (Porta Palatina) (Fig. 176) and of Aosta (Fig. 177), prototypes of the celebrated Porta Nigra at Trier.

FIG. 177.—AOSTA. AUGUSTAN GATE.

The Porta dei Borsari at Verona (Fig. 178), usually held from the inscription of Gallienus to be of late date, is more probably Augustan in its lower part, where the same system of decoration prevails as at Rimini. Verona's former Arco dei Gavi has been discussed above (p. 89).

The modern Istria, now once more united to Italy, has noble

FIG. 178.—VERONA. PORTA DEI BORSARI.

FIG. 179.—TRIESTE. AUGUSTAN ARCH. (BEFORE RESTORATION.)

FIG. 180.—ARCH AT POLA.

FIG. 181.—TEMPLE AT POLA.

specimens of early Augustan art. The so-called Arco di Riccardo at Tergeste (Trieste), which has lately been disengaged to its full height, is early Augustan (Fig. 179); while the arch put up by the Sergii at Pola (Fig. 180) had an elaborate decoration typical of an advanced stage of Augustan art. On the interior of the arch we see rosettes within lozenges, and on the inside of the piers a complicated scroll pattern rising from a bunch of acanthus leaves. A delicately carved eagle decorates the keystone. In the same city of Pola stands one of the most beautiful of all Augustan temples (Fig. 181), interesting also from its combination of old and new elements. Nothing could be more Augustan than the mouldings, the beautiful acanthus-flower scrolls of the frieze, or the elegant Corinthian capitals; but the temple, like that of Cori, retains *more etrusco* the canonical four columns of the old wooden temples.

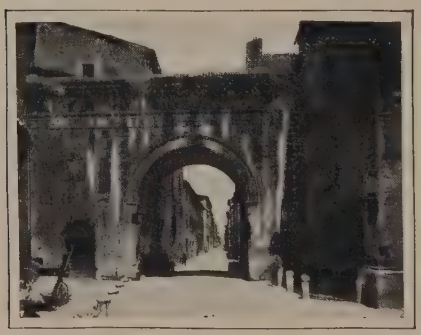


FIG. 182.—ARCH AT FANO.

In the year A.D. 10 an arch was constructed at

Fano (Fig. 182), a city famous for the cult of Fortuna and for the celebrated shrine of the goddess (the *Fanum Fortunæ*), attributed to the Augustan architect Vitruvius.

The arch (Fig. 183) erected in 2 B.C. at Segusia (Susa) in the Cottian Alps, in memory of the transaction by which Augustus had induced Cottius, the king of the region, to exchange kingship and liberty for a prefecture with extended jurisdiction, is a monument of singular importance. Its architecture resembles that of Rimini, Trieste or Verona, but the curious little frieze deserves a word of comment. In the very period of the *Ara Pacis*, it represents the ceremonies connected with the taking of the oath of fealty by Cottius and the signing of the treaty between him and Augustus in a style of art untouched by the fashions of the capital; its barbaric Northern quality has affinities with the reliefs on archaic bronze *situlæ* and on the Corsini chair, and may quite likely be due to the survival of the Etruscan tradition in this backward country. The old Italic love of frontality predominates, and the groups resemble the stiff portrait reliefs of sepulchral art rather than any official contemporary sculpture. Many of these archaisms afterwards passed into Christian art, and indeed both the group illustrated and the horsemen of the cavalry procession might not inaptly adorn an early cathedral. Curiously naïve too is the desire for mechanical balance and equality of size. The bull of the sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia* is repeated twice for the sake of symmetry, and the pig is as large as the bull. The *Porta Aurea* of Augustan Ravenna, an imposing double-arched gateway built with flanking towers, was not finally de-

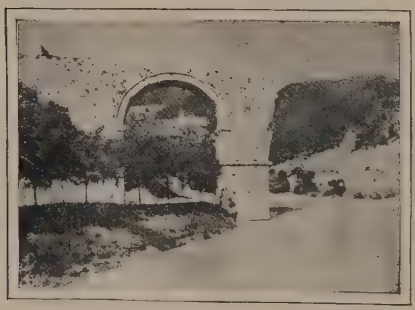
FIG. 183.—SUSA. ARCH OF AUGUSTUS.

FIG. 184.—ROME. ARCH OF DOLABELLA.

stroyed till the end of the sixteenth century; a few architectural fragments belonging to it may be seen in the Museum.

It is impossible to enumerate the works of engineering throughout Italy that belong to this period. In Rome one of the last monuments of the Augustan principate is the arch of travertine put up by the Consuls Dolabella and Silanus (A.D. 11) to carry the Acqua Marcia over a street (Fig. 184). It is of a simple non-ornate type, with shapely mouldings. A similar purpose is served by the arch inside the Porta Tiburtina (now the Porta S. Lorenzo); it likewise belongs to the Augustan age and carries the Aquæ Marcia, Tepula and Julia (Fig. 185). We will end with a reference to the superb remaining arch of the Bridge of Narni, near Terni in Umbria, which carried the Flaminian road (Fig. 186), and which still bears witness to the grandeur of such enterprises under Augustus. Finally, the spiral column, a form of art destined to so glorious a development under Trajan, seems to have made a first timid appearance on a small scale at this period, to judge from certain fragments of Augustan style, discovered at Catania in Sicily. These fragments, one of which represents a horseman in a wood, evidently belong to a small column adorned with a spiral band.

FIG. 185.—ROME. PORTA TIBURTINA BEFORE RESTORATION.



[*Photo, Ashby.*

FIG. 186.—AUGUSTAN BRIDGE AT NARNI.

To understand the full range of Augustan art we should have to study its manifestations throughout the provinces of the Empire; but the Roman art of the provinces is so important that it requires a book to itself. Augustus initiated the policy, continued and expanded by his successors, of using art as a means of impressing conceptions

of empire upon the *gentes* that composed it. "The Roman Empire," says Rostowzew, "was to become an Empire of self-governing cities," but each new city received its impress from Rome, while the older cities were assimilated to her image. The building policy of Augustus in Rome and Italy was rounded off in the provinces; in the *Provincia* itself; in Gaul; in Spain; in Africa (where Carthage was modelled anew), and above all in Greece. In Athens, in the first year of the Principate (27 B.C.), Roman monuments sprang up in every quarter of the city. On the north of the Acropolis a huge new market-place or *agora* was erected at the private expense of Cæsar and Augustus (C.I.A. III. 63); in the same year, 27 B.C., a theatre was put up by Agrippa, one of the city's most generous benefactors, and at the front of the approach to the Propylæa rose a monument in his honour. On the Acropolis itself a small circular temple—a shape consecrated by Roman tradition—was built to Roma and Augustus. The site, too close to the east end of the Parthenon, which the little temple tended to mask, was ill chosen, but the beauty and originality of its architectural decorations were undeniable and have lately been amply vindicated.

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FIG. 187.—THE IMPERIAL FAMILY. RELIEF AT RAVENNA.

CHAPTER IX

THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPERORS (A.D. 14–68)—TIBERIUS AND CALIGULA: NERO. IMPERIAL PALACES AND GOLDEN HOUSE

§ 1. *Tiberius*, A.D. 14–37: *Monuments in the Forum—The Base of Pozzuoli—The Templum divi Augusti; The Domus Tiberiana of the Palatine and the Prætorian Camp—The Temple at Nola—The Villa at Capri.*—Augustus had died at Nola on the 19th of August, A.D. 14, but his influence continued undimmed in the art of the next three-quarters of a century. It used to be said that under Tiberius artistic enterprise suffered a temporary check; he was nearly fifty-six when he succeeded and much of his building energy had already been expended under Augustus. Yet what can be put down to the years of his principate is not inconsiderable.

The victories of Germanicus in A.D. 17 (see p. 146) gave the first impulse to the building activities of Tiberius after his accession. These victories were commemorated by the Arch of Tiberius in the Forum and the restoration of two temples in the Forum Holitorium. The arch had a single gate which did not span the street, but stood beside it below the temple of Saturn. A chariot group of the Emperor with the victorious general at his side probably surmounted it. Near to the arch a certain Aulus Fabius Xanthus, a Greek to judge by his name, together with Bebryx, a freedman of Tiberius, built an office for the use of the curule ædiles known as the Schola Xantha. The interior of the small building was adorned with

bronze benches, silver statues of the seven planets, and a figure of the Augustan Victory. Of the two temples of Janus and Spes in the Forum Holitorium, the former, built by Duilius in 260 B.C. was now restored by Tiberius, and the latter by Germanicus after being twice burnt since its foundation by A. Atilius Calatinus. The extant remains of both under the church of S. Nicola in Carcere show characteristic forms of the early first century A.D. (see above, p. 48).

After the great earthquake in Asia Minor, also in the year 17, Tiberius contributed generously to the rebuilding of the twelve cities which had been destroyed. In token of gratitude the cities erected in Rome a colossal statue of the Emperor surrounded by twelve figures symbolical of themselves. The monument has disappeared, but the statues of the cities seem to be echoed in relief on a basis now at Naples erected in honour of Tiberius in A.D. 30 by the Augustales of Puteoli, whose Asiatic trade had doubtless profited by the Emperor's generosity. The basis, which probably supported a statue of Tiberius, is rectangular. On the front is the inscription flanked by figures of Sardes on the left and Magnesia on the right. Sardes, clad in peplos and kredemnon, holds a cornucopiæ in her left hand and places her right hand in protection upon the nude figure of a boy, perhaps the local dæmon Tylos, who stands by her side. The figure of Magnesia, much weathered and damaged, is attired in a sleeved chiton and himation of the Phidian type. The twelve remaining figures are disposed in four groups of three: one on each of the short sides and two on the back (Fig. 188), divided in the centre by a slender pillar supporting a statuette of the Ephesian Artemis and by a tripod against which leans the figure impersonating Myrina, in allusion to the neighbouring Apolline oracle of Gyrneia. The occurrence of Amazon dress in five out of the fourteen figures is explained by the fact that Asia Minor was the country of the Amazons. This monument, together with the reliefs from the statue-bases of Sorrento, of Nola, (p. 159), and of Cervetri mentioned below, and from the balustrades of the great altars like the Ara Pacis, or the Ara Pietatis Augustæ, form a group of the highest importance for the study of Roman

FIG. 188.—BASES OF PUTEOLI, NAPLES.

Imperial art. Some, at any rate, of these reliefs are exactly datable and thus constitute a starting-point for research.

At some date in the earlier part of his reign Tiberius began the temple of the deified Augustus, but it remained unfinished till the time of Caligula. It stood on the slope of the Palatine towards the Capitol, but its exact site has not yet been made out. It is this temple perhaps whose façade appears on a relief of Claudian date now in the Villa Medici (below p. 166); the bearded figure in the pediment may be Quirinus, who would be appropriate as an ancestor of the Roman people on a temple dedicated to the re-founder of the race. Within were statues of Augustus and Livia and in later times of those emperors who were accorded divine honours after their death. Above the temple on the north-west spur of the Palatine Tiberius built for himself a new mansion, the *Domus Tiberiana*, partly no doubt in order to leave his mother Livia unmolested in the house where she had lived with Augustus. Nevertheless from the time of Tiberius the Palatine, from being, as Augustus had intended, the citadel of Apollo, rival of Jupiter Capitolinus on the opposite hill, was slowly transformed with every fresh Imperial residence into the citadel of the Emperor.

During the rest of Tiberius' residence in Rome the chief buildings he erected were those of public utility, such as the Castra Prætoria, which was built between A.D. 21 and 23 at the suggestion of Sejanus to accommodate the Prætorian guards, who formed henceforth a permanent garrison. Of the Tiberian construction two battlemented gate-towers are still extant: the Porta Decumana and the Porta Principalis Dextra. Of the former we can trace the North impost of the gateway and its flat brick arch and brick pilasters with their capitals. Of the Porta Principalis Dextra the towers and the lower part of the gateway-pilasters alone remain. Both gates have windows, with terra-cotta hoods.

After A.D. 26 Tiberius ceased to live in Rome. He went to the south, where we find him dedicating the Capitolium at Capua and the temple of Augustus at Nola, on the spot where Augustus had died. With this foundation we may connect a fragment of relief now in Budapest, formerly interpreted as part of a procession in honour of the Actian Apollo. But while the Actian god was more probably represented standing, Apollo, holding his lyre, is here seated in a nonchalant attitude looking away from the procession towards the ships. The relief seems of that votive class not intended primarily to represent any special event, but adapted as occasion may arise. The first man blowing the *tuba* is possibly giving the signal for a battle; and Apollo may be placed there to indicate that

the battle, though represented after a traditional scheme, is here intended for Actium, and that the ships are those of the famous battle. If this be so, the slab may have been used allegorically to adorn the base of a statue to the deified Augustus (*Sc. R.*, P 14, Fig. 7).

The great work of the last ten years of Tiberius' life was the erection of an immense villa on Capri. In providing himself with a splendid country seat he was continuing the tradition of the past century and anticipating the Imperial villas of Nero, of Domitian (in Rome and at Castel Gandolfo) and of Hadrian at Tivoli. What he had not ventured to do in Rome itself he was justified in doing at Capri; an ostentatious palace in the capital would have provoked opposition, as Nero afterwards discovered to his cost, but was usual in the country, where there was plenty of space.

According to Tacitus there were twelve Imperial residences on the island, which had been acquired by Augustus in 29 B.C.; many of these were doubtless little more than casinos, such as may be found in any Italian villa to-day. The twelve were apparently named after the twelve gods, the largest being called the *Villa Iovis*. It is now thought that the terracing of the ground and the substructures date from the time of Augustus and that Tiberius erected the buildings above the floor level only and superintended their decoration. The retaining walls of the substructures and lower chambers are faced with *opus reticulatum* of tufa from Posilipo; they are so thick that the villa probably rose to a height of several storeys. Fragments of mosaic pavement and stucco relief have been found there which resemble those from the house near the Farnesina in Rome. The lower parts of the structure to the south-east are designed as reservoirs, probably for the Thermæ near by. Of the upper floors nothing remains. It would appear from the plan that the entrance to the Imperial apartments was complicated and narrow; this would agree with the traditions of seclusion and even account for many of the scandalous rumours which were current at the time.

§ 2. *Caligula*, A.D. 37–41: *His Circus; his house on the Palatine; the Bridge of Baiæ.*—During his short reign Caligula planned and began a number of monuments, of which little or nothing has survived. Till the sixteenth century, however, and later there were considerable traces on the west side of the Tiber of the great circus which was named after him and Nero, who completed it, *Circus Caii et Neronis*. This circus was the scene of the first martyrdoms, and in memory of the most illustrious of these the basilica dedicated to S. Peter later arose in the immediate vicinity. On the *spina* of the

circus stood, among other monuments, a tall obelisk, the second largest in Rome after that of the Lateran, which is reckoned the largest in the world. It was removed in 1586 under Pope Sixtus V and set up in front of the basilica as record of the triumph of Christianity over Paganism by the power of the Cross.

Caligula continued the policy of his predecessors in his care of the temples; he completed the Aedes Divi Augusti. On the Palatine he added a wing to the North of the Domus Tiberiana, extending as far as the *Clivus Victoriæ*. Of this annex only the faintest traces remain, though enough for Dr. E. van Deman to draw a brilliant picture of its vanished splendour; but of "the greater palace built by Caligula on the heights of the Palatine, through whose long halls he passed from one scene of revelry to another," even this imaginative archæologist has little to tell. Caligula also made certain alterations or enlargements upon the Capitol, in connection with which he built the mysterious bridge that has exercised the ingenuity of so many topographers. The literary evidence is vague and the structure was soon demolished after the murder of Caligula, so that nothing is now known of its appearance.

The only other construction with which he is credited belongs to the same category as this fantastic bridge: namely, the freakish high-road he had built across the bay of Baiæ in order, it is said, that he might ride over in the armour of Alexander the Great. But, as I have shown elsewhere (*J.R.S.*, vi., 1916, p. 38), our estimate of Caligula needs to be revised in the light of his religious policy. He possibly blundered in encouraging too openly the cult of Isis, and in identifying the Princeps too violently with Jupiter, yet the identification had been attempted by Cæsar and accepted by both Augustus and Tiberius, as coins and statues show, while the Isis cult remained a force in Rome up to the time of the Severi (p. 150), when Egyptian was replaced by Syrian influence.

§ 3. *Claudius*, A.D. 41–54: *His Aqueducts—Harbour of Ostia—The Arcus Britannicus—The Base of Cervetri—The Della Valle Reliefs—The Terme and Lateran Fragments—The Subterranean Basilica—Reliefs and Sarcophagi—Monument of C. Lusius Sorax.*—The masterminds of the Julio-Claudian period after Augustus were Claudius and Nero. The first threw his energy largely into engineering works, to restore public confidence after the principate of Caligula. The water-supply of Rome and the safety of the corn-ships on which her very existence depended were his first care. His superb aqueducts—the *Aqua Claudia* constructed to bring water from the neighbourhood of Subiaco to Rome, and the *Anio Novus*, which tapped the Anio at its source—deserve mention in any history of

ancient art if only for the beauty of their tall arches, probably the most effective arcading in the world (Fig. 189); while the noble twin archways that carry the aqueducts over the fork of the two roads that lead respectively to Labicum and Prænestе (modern Porta Maggiore) rank with the best Augustan building (Fig. 190). The masonry is further remarkable for the introduction of undressed (rusticate) blocks, a feature that was popularly imitated in Renascence construction (Fig. 191). The inscription of the arch records the construction of both aqueducts by Claudius in A.D. 52. Besides building the Claudian aqueducts, Claudius drained the Fucine Lake—represented in a curious relief at Avezzano (Fig. 192) which recalls the fourth style of Pompeian painting—and also created the harbour of Ostia (Portus), thus giving effect to one of Cæsar's great projects. The shifting course of the Tiber had long been a serious danger to the shipping which sought its open roadstead. Something had already been done for Ostia under Augustus, to whose principate we may date the remains of certain *thermæ;* and, like that of Merida in Spain, the theatre was apparently constructed by Agrippa. A few Augustan tombs and inscriptions are also known, but these are not of high importance. Claudius took the work seriously in hand; he began to construct in A.D. 42 a large artificial harbour (afterwards enlarged by Trajan) on the right bank of the Tiber and a good way from its mouth, which, however, was not inaugurated in his lifetime. The famous coin,

FIG. 189.—AQUEDUCT NEAR ROME.

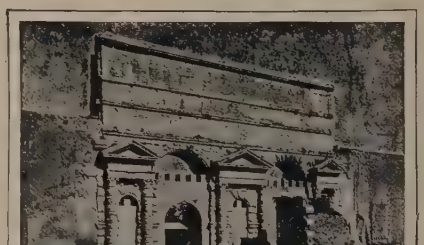

FIG. 190.—PORTA MAGGIORE (BEFORE RESTORATION).

which reminds us of the *afflavit Deus* medal of Elizabeth, representing the harbour with its central mole, its statues of Neptune and *Bonus Eventus*, its tall lighthouse, and its fleet of ships riding safely at anchor, dates from the reign of Nero. From the Ostian temple of Augustus and Rome come various fine fragments of sculpture, including the Roma with her foot raised on the globe (Fig. 193). It belonged to the group of cultus images within the temple, while the Victory may have floated over the temple pediment.

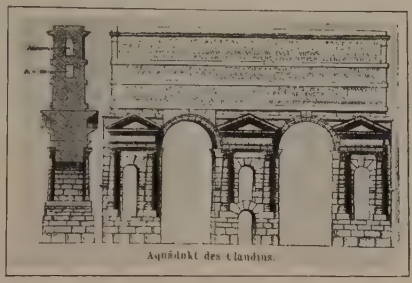

FIG. 191.—RESTORED ELEVATION AND SECTION OF PORTA MAGGIORE.

Historians and archæologists seem agreed in charging Claudius with lack of energy and enterprise, but his monuments show that he was in the line of the great town-planners, with Sulla and Augustus, with Nero and Domitian, with Trajan and the Antonines. It used to be supposed that what energy he had was spent on engineering works, but his enterprises were not all merely of public utility. The beautiful Arcus Britannicus that spanned the Via Lata, with its proud inscription and splendid lettering, still to be read in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini, was no mean contribution to monumental art. It was erected in A.D. 51–52 to commemorate the resumption by Claudius of Cæsar's plan for the conquest of Britain which had been dropped by Augustus. Though the statement that eleven British chieftains walked captive in the Imperial triumph might be galling to British pride, yet the event that brought the country into the pale of Latin civilization is one to which the inhabitants afterwards looked back with gratitude. Two fine fragments in the Museo Mussolini, recently discovered near

[*Photo, Min. Pub. Istr.*

FIG. 192.—RELIEF AT AVEZZANO.

the former site of the arch, were probably part of its sculptured decoration. On the one is carved a soldier wearing the helmet, his cheek and ear protected by the *buccula*, and holding the oval shield in his outstretched left arm. The other—of great beauty—shows a temple raised on a high podium, which evidently formed the background of a composition with figures (Fig. 194). The style may be compared to that of the large relief with a procession passing in front of a ten-columned temple—of Julio-Claudian date—discussed in connection with the Pantheon (Fig. 195). Two further fragments, which may be attributed to the *Arcus Britannicus*, are those representing Roman soldiery, walled into the vestibule of the Casino of Villa Borghese (H.-A. 1529) and falsely held to be Trajanic. The impressive fragment of a Roman and a barbarian, in the Museo dei Conservatori, recently identified as Julio-Claudian, belongs to a similar class of triumphal relief (Fig. 196). Other works of art were probably erected to commemorate the conquest of Britain; of these we seem to have an echo in the splendid cameo of Claudius as *triumphator* at the Hague, and again disguised by a false beard as Jupiter Ammon, with Messalina as Isis-Ceres, on the Marlborough cameo in the British Museum.

FIG. 193.—ROMA, FROM TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS AND ROMA AT OSTIA.

FIG. 194. -RELIEF WITH FAÇADE OF TEMPLE. (Museo Mussolini)

Claudius added a third to the group of Imperial residences on the Palatine; and the beautiful house on the summit of the hill with the pillared fountains and the room with the miniature scenes from the *Iliad* (below, Chap. XI) not improbably belong to this principate.

FIG. 195.—AN IMPERIAL PROCESSION.
(Terme and Lateran.)

With our increasing knowledge of the period between Augustus and the Flavians it is becoming possible to identify as Claudian certain sculptures whose dating has hitherto been problematic. The Lateran Museum possesses a relief which bears witness to the interest of Claudius in the affairs of Etruria. The Emperor appears here as the patron of its commerce rather than as the historian of its antiquities, for the relief belongs to the base of a monument set up by the fifteen cities of Etruria in gratitude for his revival of the Etruscan league. One slab (Sc. R., Fig. 66) represents the goddess of Vulci seated between Tarchon, the god of Tarquinii, and Vetulonia personified as a young marine deity with his oar; it was found with a group of Imperial portraits, including Augustus, Claudius and other members of the family, in the theatre at Cære (Cervetri). Five slabs from the Della Valle collection, at present walled up in the Villa Medici, which were formerly thought to come from the Ara Pacis, are now ascribed with much probability to the Ara Pietatis Augustæ erected by Claudius in A.D. 43 to the memory of Augustus, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the theatre of Marcellus (*C.I.L.*, vi. 562). The reliefs consist of two slabs with the sacrifices of bulls (Fig. 197 and 198); of a fine processional scene with thirteen figures, the central one of whom—with the priestly apex—has the unmistakable

Photo, German Institute.
FIG. 196.—ROMAN AND BARBARIAN.
RELIEF IN CONSERVATORI.

lineaments of a Julio-Claudian prince and is not unlike Claudius himself (Fig. 199); and lastly of two slabs with representations of temples, in which we may possibly recognize those of Divus Augustus and of the Magna Mater. This use of buildings as backgrounds recalls the fragments mentioned above in connection with the Arch of Claudius (Sc. R., Figs. 44, 45). In the pediment of the first relief is the bearded figure already noted; since the *pater Æneas* of the Ara Pacis relief, and all the mythical ancestors of the Roman race, are invariably shown bearded, we may identify this figure as Romulus-Quirinus. The temple of Cybele on the second relief, with the Galli on either side of the pediment, confirms what is known of the religious policy of Claudius, who showed himself favourable to the cult of Attis, but established it on a new basis. This move, as Cumont points out, may have been intended as a counter-blast to the now discredited religious policy of Caligula with its exaltation of the Egyptian Isis.

FIG. 197.—SACRIFICE OF BULL.
(Villa Medici.)

FIG. 198.—SACRIFICIAL SCENE
(Villa Medici.)

The worship of the Phrygian Magna Mater had been introduced in 204 B.C., as we saw in an earlier chapter. On account, however, of its perverted rites the cult was modified to suit Roman religious conceptions and the worship of Attis was split off from the worship of Cybele. But the ever-increasing Oriental population, particularly at Ostia, came to demand that Attis should be reinstated. Claudius, therefore, with a rare insight into the necessity of compromising with the Oriental cults which could no longer be kept out, and perceiving that it was better to tolerate them openly than to persecute them for secret practices, recognized the cult of Attis which had long been practised in secret, and instituted the office of *archigallus*,

which was to be held by a Roman citizen as superintendent of the native priests, though at the same time he deprived the cult of any rites unpalatable to the Roman mind. Chastity among the priests might be observed, but mutilation was forbidden. To this cult Claudius seems likewise to have dedicated the celebrated Phrygianum (*i.e.* precinct of the Phrygian goddess) which adjoined the circus of Caligula and Nero on the right of the Tiber. The relief of Claudia Syntyche which belongs to his principate (p. 42) is probably to be connected with the revival of the cult of the Great Mother of the Gods.

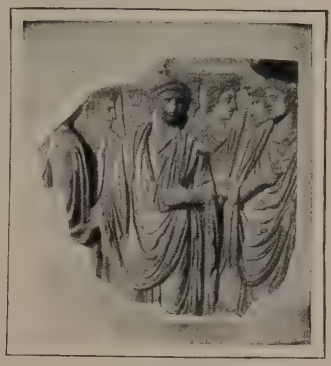

FIG. 199.—IMPERIAL PROCESSION. (Villa Medici.)

The Claudian revival of the Attis cults brings us to speak of the hypogeum near the Porta Maggiore discovered in 1917 under the railway line (Fig. 200). The details of its building material (a pure concrete of *selce*) and of its stucco decorations point to the first century, and the figures of Attis at the four corners of the central ceiling relief at once suggest the principate of Claudius. These figures are all the more striking in the conspicuous place they occupy because of the total absence of any Oriental element in the rest of the building. This was clearly a hall of initiation into the mysteries of the under-world, connected it may be with the funerary college of some Pythagorean sect. Nor is it surprising to find an under-world cult that seems to have had some elements at least in common with that of Eleusis tolerated under Claudius, who figures in the great Paris cameo as Triptolemus, by the side of his consort

FIG. 200.—NAVE AND APSE OF UNDERGROUND BASILICA NEAR PORTA MAGGIORE.

in the character of the Eleusinian Demeter. The plan itself is of the highest importance; its square atrium, its nave with aisles and apse show the typical disposition of the Christian basilica, already fully developed by the first century in a purely Pagan building. The under-world was suggested by the depth at which the hall was built (30 feet below the ancient level), while the long inclined plane that led to it represented the descent to the lower regions. The method of construction is as interesting as the purpose for which the building was designed. The hall was constructed underground by sinking shafts and trenches in the earth, filling them with concrete for walls and pillars and connecting them with a vaulting of the same material over a natural centring of virgin soil, and then excavating this soil when the concrete had set. The basilica was apparently on land belonging to the family of the Statilii; and if we may accept the theory that connects it with the events of the year 53 narrated by Tacitus, when the younger Statilius Taurus committed suicide rather than face the Senate on a charge of practising magic (instigated by the younger Agrippina, who coveted his gardens), it is safe to date it to the first half or the middle of the first century A.D.

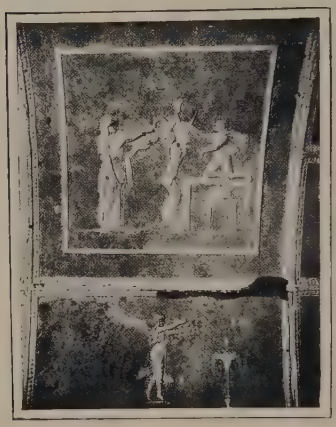

FIG. 201.—JASON AND THE GOLDEN FLEECE. BELOW: VICTORY AND TRIPOD. FROM UNDERGROUND BASILICA.

FIG. 202.—DANAIDES. STUCCO FROM UNDERGROUND BASILICA.

The stuccoes of this underground basilica, as it is frequently called, are of supreme importance, but, like those from the House of the Farnesina, still unpublished. The mythological

subjects ("Descent into the Water of the Mystic" in the apse; "Jason and the Fleece" (Fig. 201) of one of the aisles; the "Danaides" (Fig. 202) of another) and the various scenes of ritual (feeding and tending of the sacred snake; reading of liturgies, etc.) are many of them examples of accomplished composition, while the imitations of lustration vases and of statues placed on bases show a real sense of sculptural outline. Of importance, likewise, are the series of sepulchral enclosures that surround the walls of atrium and aisles: within a miniature landscape of idyllic character, a holy tree

FIG. 203.—RELIEF IN PALAZZO COLONNA.

FIG. 204.—RELIEF IN PALAZZO COLONNA.

spreads its branches above the tomb (*Sc. R.*, Pl. XVII), which itself is at times adorned with the image of a divinity. This type of "sacred" landscape is popular in the painting of the period (Vol. II p. 11) and in its sepulchral and religious art generally. We find it as background to the figures of Hermaphrodite and of Pan in two reliefs of Palazzo Colonna (Figs. 203, 204), which though possibly of later date (smoothness of texture), seem from the pervading Virgilian mood to be inspired by Augustan models.

A recently discovered relief (Terme) thought by its discoverers

to be Hadrianic, possibly belongs to the Julio-Claudian period (Fig. 205): it represents a seated Mænad (or Ariadne?) facing to the left and grasping a goat by the horn; the goat, shown by the plinth on which it stands to have ritual significance, is rendered in a manner midway between the sheep of one Grimani relief (actually placed by certain authorities in the Julio-Claudian period) and the goats of the Trajan Column. The eagle at Gosford House—a work of the 1st century in conception and technique—poised solitary and Imperial with outstretched protecting wings, is another fine piece (Fig. 206). It seems to symbolise the Augustan and Julio-Claudian age as the eagle of the SS. Apostoli does that of Trajan (below, p. 87).

FIG. 205.—MÆNAD AND GOAT. RELIEF FROM VIA STATILIA.
(Terme.)

Already in the Julio-Claudian period sarcophagi begin to make their appearance—a sign perhaps that, already at this date, ideas as to the resurrection of the body were becoming insistent. Or possibly the very few examples known belonged to families with ancestral rights of inhumation (above, p. 46)—the Sarcophagus Caffarelli in Berlin, for instance. It was once thought Augustan, but is probably later, from the heavier and more compressed character of the garlands (cf. *Sc. R.*, p. 49), and may be dated to the period of Claudius.

FIG. 206.—EAGLE AT GOSFORD HOUSE.

By the side of the sculpture

and reliefs of an official and religious character we also find subjects from everyday life treated in the homelier Italic manner. A good instance, perhaps as early as the beginning of the first century, is afforded by the reliefs on the tomb of the two cutlers, L. Cornelius Atimetus and L. Cornelius Epaphra, in the Galleria Lapidaria of the

FIG. 207.—CUTLERS AT WORK. RELIEF FROM A TOMB.
(Vatican.)

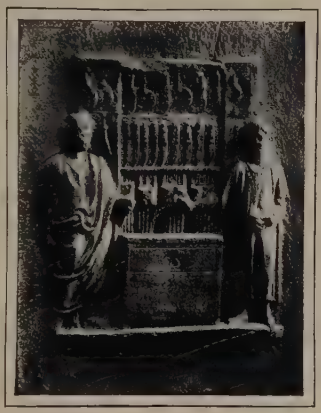

FIG. 208.—CUTLER'S SHOP. RELIEF FROM SAME TOMB.
(Vatican.)

Vatican (No. 147; *C.I.L.* vi. 16166): the interior of their workshop with themselves at work is carved on the one side (Fig. 207), while on the front face we see the retail shop with the knives hanging up in a row, and a customer clad in the toga and a shop-assistant in a plain tunic speaking across the counter (Fig. 208). These scenes from the cutlery may be matched by a number of others representing trades, such as the two at Florence (Figs. 209 and 210), one of an embroidery shop where a

FIG. 209.—SHOP SCENE.
(Florence.)

lady and gentleman are critically examining cushions and other objects offered for sale by obsequious shopmen, while, on the other, young shop assistants test their cloth in the presence of male customers—another subject destined to become popular and which reappears on the Igel monument and elsewhere. Definitely Julio-Claudian in date are the reliefs which decorate the monument of C. Lusius Sorax at Amiternum near Chieti, now restored and set up in the Museo delle Terme (Fig. 211). Along the friezes are gladiatorial displays (cf. p. 63) and on the pediment, arranged frontally, are the crowd of spectators and officials—magistrates, musicians, women, priests, etc. The art is rough and provincial, but not lacking in vigour and vitality.

FIG. 210.—CLOTH-TESTING SCENE.
(Florence.)

§ 4. *Nero*, A.D. 54–68: *His Circus and Thermæ—The Golden House—The Colonnaded Approach—The Systematization of the City—The Domus Transitoria—Nero's Patronage of the Arts—Zenodorus, Severus Celer and Fabullus—Nero's Villas at Anzio and Subiaco—Copies of Greek Statues—Nero's Art and Town-planning Policy.*—The monuments of Nero form an important link in the history of Roman art from Augustus to the Flavian emperors. Much, it is true, has been irretrievably lost; the famous circus near the Vatican, which Caligula had begun and Nero finished; his baths, which lay north of the Campus Martius and which were remodelled by Alexander Severus, have disappeared; his arch, erected

FIG. 211.—MONUMENT OF C. LUSIUS SORAX (RESTORED).
(Terme.)

between 58 and 62 to commemorate the victories of Corbulo in Parthia, is known only from coins. The first temple of the deified Claudius, begun in A.D. 54 by the widowed Agrippina, was absorbed in the construction of Nero's own *Domus Aurea*, to be restored and completed under Vespasian (Vol. II., p. 51). Of the Golden House itself only a few chambers remain, now buried underground, while the noble Neronian colonnades of the Forum have disappeared without leaving any traces. Yet enough remains to show what were the leading ideas of this building policy.

The reconstructions under Augustus, numerous as they were, had been confined to temples and isolated monuments. The difficulty which that prince experienced in obtaining the necessary space for his Forum to the north of the temple of Cæsar proves how crowded and congested the central parts of Rome had become. The project of laying out the city on a grandiose scale, with private residences and blocks of houses, at once splendid and hygienic, that should rival the Hellenistic cities in grandeur and be a worthy setting to the public edifices of Augustus, seems to have been Nero's; and the fire of 64 A.D. gave him his opportunity, as that of 81 B.C. had given Sulla his. No reasonable scholar now accuses Nero of a personal share in the fire; but it facilitated both his public and private schemes; not only did it clear the city, but it provided him with a site for his "Golden House." This vast villa covered the Oppius, or South-west spur of the Esquiline, the Velia, part of the Palatine, and that part at least of the Cælian where stood the still unfinished temple of the deified Claudius. The actual house on the Oppius occupied an area calculated at about 400×200 metres; all the rest formed a vast villa and park round the Imperial residence, with lakes, gardens, pleasure-houses, summer retreats, aviaries, and preserves for wild-fowl and wild animals—stately pleasure-grounds which supplied the sites for many buildings erected by his successors to obliterate his memory. In this Golden House we have the first appearance in Rome of a real palace. Augustus had lived like a private gentleman in the house of the orator Hortensius; Tiberius had built a somewhat larger but comparatively modest residence. Caligula's was, after all, only an extension of the Tiberian Palace, and the house attributed to Claudius was of no great extent. Nero, owing doubtless to his early contact with the Hellenized East, conceived the erection of a vast palace surrounded by a park which in magnitude and in variety should resemble the *paradisus* of an Oriental monarch. But even when Vespasian had built his amphitheatre around the largest of the lakes, and had built the Forum of Peace upon

the land adjoining the vestibule of the Golden House, much of the park was left untouched. The statement that "the shrewd old Emperor Vespasian swept the whole—palace, vineyards, park, lake and forest—ruthlessly away" is a mere rhetorical repetition of what the ancient writers had said. Titus certainly used the Golden House as his own residence; his baths only occupied a site to its right; and the house, though probably pillaged and neglected, and much injured by the fire of 104 A.D., was not actually destroyed until the architect Apollodorus erected over it the huge Thermæ of Trajan, using the walls of the lower rooms, which he closed and filled with earth, as the substructures of the new building.

Nero, however, was not content with building the Golden House and laying out its park; he also remodelled the eastern end of the Forum between the Palatine and the Velia to form a worthy approach to the vestibule of his palace. The disposition of his new constructions between the Forum proper and the palace at the top of the Sacra Via have been recently studied by the brilliant American topographer Dr. Esther Van Deman; her results disclose a regular plan for the systematization of the Sacra Via in relation to the Forum and to the vestibule of the palace. A broad avenue which took in the old Sacra Via left the Forum just east of the Regia and led between magnificent arcaded porticoes to the vestibule of the Domus Aurea, north of where the Arch of Titus now stands. This new Sacra Via was cut at right angles, east of the Atrium Vestæ, by a second road leading from the Nova Via; after crossing the Sacra Via it bent in a N.E. direction past the Ædes Penatium[1] towards the Carinæ. The complex of Neronian buildings is thus described by Dr. E. Van Deman:

> "With the rise of the broad avenue the Sacra Via of the past vanished and the district became but a part of the vast scheme with which Nero sought to satisfy his mad passion for building after the catastrophe of 64. The four years of riotous building and no less riotous living came to an end. Nero passed from the marble-lined palace on the Palatine to the quieter gardens of the Esquiline; and within a few months the thrifty Sabine, passed up the great avenue as conqueror and restorer of the city. New streets cut in pieces the Golden House; and as part of the great policy of restitution the Sacra Via was given back to the people in a new form and the magnificent arcades and halls transformed into the great warehouses, the *horrea piperataria et Vespasiani. Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

The picture is perhaps not too highly coloured. Yet to stigmatize in this instance Nero's passion as mad is to fall under the spell of the rhetorical denunciations of Nero by his enemies. To the

[1] To be identified, it is thought, with remains under the present Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano.

impartial student who considers the scheme as it is now revealed to us, it must seem a noble example of town-planning, the only example in Rome itself, outside the actual *castra prætoria*, of the rectangular lay-out of the Roman camp with its intersecting *Cardo* and *Decumanus*, which, as we have seen, was derived from the primitive Terramare settlements. It gave a definite shape to the straggling ground between the Forum proper and the Golden House. The stately arcaded porticoes and colonnades must have bestowed upon Rome a beauty of design such as their colonnaded streets gave to Palmyra and other Syrian cities. Martial (*de Spect.*, ii. 1–4) has given a picture of the House and its approach as he must still have known them:

> Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
> Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via
> Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
> Unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.

Nero's broad avenues between Forum and Golden House were soon to be swept away, but he succeeded in rebuilding part at least of Rome, after the fire, on a regular plan which must have been permanent. Tacitus has given a memorable picture of what was achieved and of the striking difference between the Rome built after Nero's fire and the old Rome which has been described by Cicero (above, p. 5, n. 2): "the parts of the city unoccupied by Nero's palace were not built over without divisions or indiscriminately as after the Gallic fire, but in blocks of regular dimensions, with broad streets between. A limit was placed to the height of houses; open spaces were left; and colonnades were added to protect the fronts of tenements, Nero undertaking to build these at his own cost" (Ann. xv. 43; trans. G. G. Ramsay). This Neronian town-planning is of fundamental importance for the history of the art.

Recent investigations have likewise enabled us to appreciate correctly the disposition of the Golden House itself as well as of the arcades that formed the triumphal approach. In the vestibule, approximately on the site of the campanile of Santa Francesca Romana, stood the colossal statue of Nero as the Sun-god by Zenodorus, a famous bronze-worker who, in spite of his Hellenized name, appears to have been a Gaul. We may possess a copy of the head in the superb basalt portrait of Nero in the Uffizi (Fig. 212). The colossus itself was not destroyed at Nero's death, nor do we read of any desecration or destruction of his portraits such as overtook the statues of Domitian at his death. Under Vespasian the statue was dedicated to the worship of the Sun-god,

and was exalted as the rival or even the superior of the Colossus of Rhodes; and later again Hadrian, as we read in Spartian, "caused it to be moved to its present place." Probably it was in the way of the temple of Venus and Rome; and its base now stands on the right of that temple, whither Hadrian's architect Decrianus transported it by the aid of a team of elephants, though without the statue of the Moon, which Hadrian had intended to erect as its pendant. Possibly the great colonnaded vestibule on the side facing the Velia also continued to stand till Hadrian required the ground for the temple, though the Flavian emperors seem to have destroyed or modified the great porticoes.

FIG. 212.—BASALT HEAD OF NERO. (Uffizi.)

The ground plan of the Golden House itself is that of an Italian villa of the period, a central block with a two-storied projection at either side, and a garden within the ∩-shaped area thus circumscribed (Fig. 213). The projections, instead of being at right angles to the façade, opened outward to rectify the perspective and to give a fuller view of the façade of the main building. The main block consisted of numerous rooms grouped round a central chamber. Their decoration was of the most sumptuous. Besides stucco-work, much of which was gilt, and the celebrated wall-paintings which we shall describe in a special chapter (Chap. XI), the Domus had several chambers encrusted with mother-of-pearl or precious stones, and a banqueting-hall whose ceiling was covered with thin plaques of ivory cut out in the shape of flowers, from behind which perfume could be sprayed on to the guests. The room that opens on to the vestibule (60 on plan)

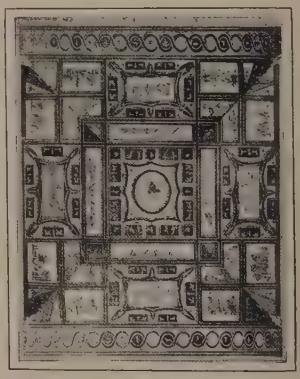

FIG. 214.—"VOLTA DORATA" (RESTORED) AT NERO'S GOLDEN HOUSE.

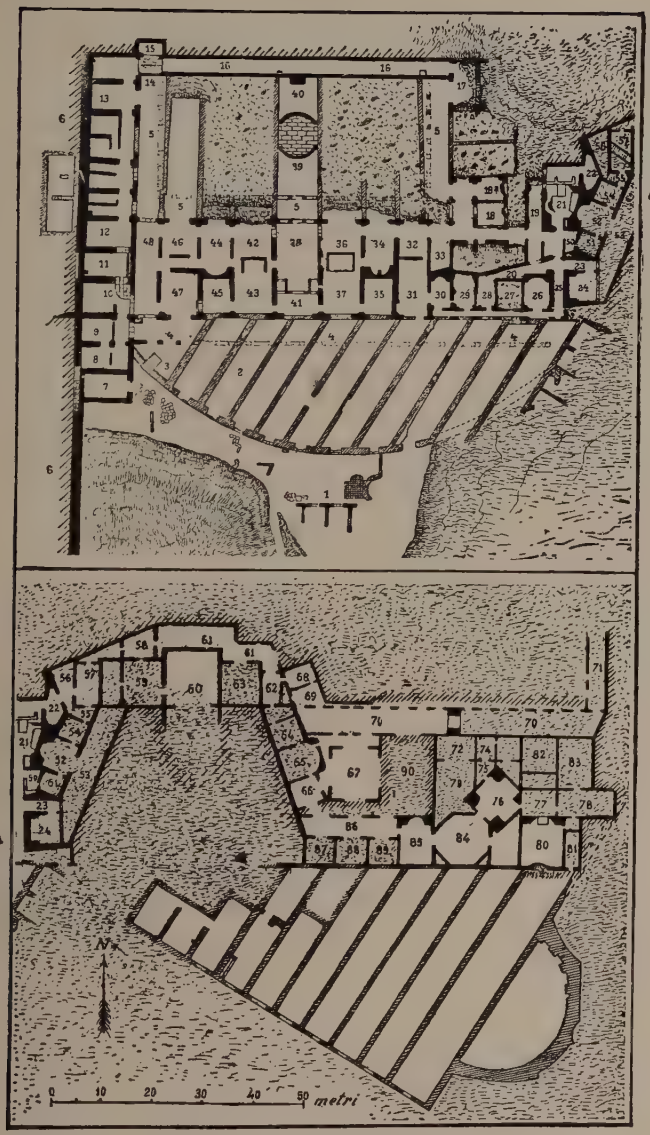

FIG. 213.—GROUND PLAN OF GOLDEN HOUSE.
(After Lugli.)

is known as that of the *Volta Dorata* from the gilt and coloured stuccoes of its ceiling (Fig. 214). An octagonal room (84 on plan) is remarkable for its dome, left open to the sky like that of the Pantheon.

The so-called Domus Transitoria that seems to have covered part of the later Flavian Palace, the Velia up to the Esquiline, was in reality part of the Golden House. It seems to have derived its name from having served as a temporary residence till Nero could build his Domus aurea, and this he was only able to accomplish after the fire of 64 had destroyed the houses and tenements on the ground he had been slowly acquiring. Remains of the Domus Transitoria may be seen under the Flavian palace: they include the floor of a hall (to the right of the Flavian triclinium, under a later nymphæum) beautifully paved in pink marble with a floral design carried out in green; a building which Boni was once inclined to identify as Nero's famous circular dining-room which revolved like an astronomical dome with the sun, and numerous substructures, among which is a curiously shaped chamber with a pit and a parapet, said to have been a preserve for live fish; of this we shall have occasion to speak in Chap. XII when discussing the fishpond mosaics. Among Nero's constructions on the Palatine is the long covered way (*cryptoporticus*), once wrongly attributed to the period of Caligula, that leads from the house of Augustus along the east side of the Domus Tiberiana to the wing of Caligula above the Nova Via. It also was decorated with stuccoes, fragments of which are still *in situ*. They disclose a scheme of small squares arranged about a rectangle which is framed within a floral band; upon the large central rectangle is a group of *putti*. The style closely resembles that of the stuccoes in the Pythagorean hypogeum of Claudian date near the Porta Maggiore, though some authorities incline to date them to the period of the Antonines.

Of Nero's encouragement of contemporary art his constant patronage of the sculptor Zenodorus who made his statue, of the architects Severus and Celer who built the Golden House, and of Famullus who decorated it, bears witness. He also took an enlightened interest in the art of the past. From the great collections he formed come several of the best known works of antiquity: the famous group of Laocoon and his sons, for instance, adorned the Golden House; it was found in 1506, probably in the apse of a room 80 on plan, where it is surmised Nero held poetical recitations on the old theme of the Fall of Troy (Vol. II., p. 126).

Nero's villas outside Rome also testified to his passion for Greek art. At his birthplace, Antium, where he built a fine harbour, he had

a palace filled with works of art, and one of the niches of its sea-wall contained the famous Daphnephoros or Laurel-bearer which is now in the Terme (known as the "Fanciulla d'Anzio"). From another Neronian villa at Subiaco comes the kneeling boy in the same Museum. Being unable to restore the Anadyomene of Apelles, he apparently substituted for the original a copy by one Dorotheus; he ransacked Greece and the Hellenized cities of Asia, Delphi, Thespiæ, Olympia and Pergamon; he brought to Rome the Amazon of Strongylion and the Eros of Praxiteles; and, more important still, the portrait of Alexander by Lysippus, which seems to have influenced so much Imperial portraiture from that of Nero himself to that of Gallienus.

FIG. 215.—NERO'S COLUMN AT MAINZ.

In the Rome of Nero, as often happens in countries where works of antique and modern art are juxtaposed, a style of art-criticism came into vogue which extolled the old at the expense of the new. A good example of this criticism is afforded by the discourse on ideals of painting which Petronius puts into the mouth of Eumolpus whom he meets in the private picture gallery of a house at Puteoli; by the alteration of a few names the easy cant could represent the criticism of any age or country. We who, thanks to Raphael and other artists of the sixteenth century, and to the efforts of twentieth-century archæologists, know something of the beauty of the Golden House and its collections, may venture to doubt whether in the age of Nero art, in the familiar phrase of Eumolpus, "copies only the faults of antiquity."

Only fragments have survived of Neronian art in Rome, but one splendid monument of his rule has come down to us in the famous column of Mayence (Moguntiacum), put up about A.D. 47 by the *cannabari* or camp tradesmen of that city for the health and safety of the Emperor. The column is a religious and artistic monument of the first importance (Fig. 215). It is a glorified form of the old Italic "sky pillar," and the model of the later Jupiter and giant columns of

the Germanic provinces. The reliefs which cover the five friezes of the shaft and the double plinth represent the divinities of the Roman state; the front face of the upper plinth bears the inscription and the shaft is surmounted by the bronze statue of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. More significant still is it to note that in the top frieze but one the central figure is that of Nero himself, pouring libation over an altar. As on the altar of the *Gens Augusta* at Carthage, so here the dominating idea is to make visible to the provincials the might and majesty of Rome, the blessings of the Imperial rule, the unifying power of the Roman Pantheon. Two native artists, Samus and Severus, who carved their names on the edge of the plinth, were responsible for the work (*Samus et Severus Venicarii F (ilii) sculpserunt*, Dessau, 9235). Their art is naïve and a little rough, though not without vigour and life; it is a provincial but impressive conception of the Græco-Roman gods, technically much in advance of the frieze of Susa (p. 153), or of the reliefs of the Tomb of Lusius Sorax (p. 172).

The importance of the Neronian Principate for the history of art can scarcely be over-estimated. Whatever the general opinion of Nero—and history has not yet pronounced her last judgment upon him—it must be admitted that his building policy and his measures for the encouragement of the arts represented the realization of the projects of Augustus and of the dreams of Cæsar.

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FIG. 216.—AUGUSTUS FROM PRIMA PORTA.
(Vatican.)

FIG. 217.—CLAUDIUS.
(Rotunda of Vatican.)

CHAPTER X

PORTRAITURE UNDER AUGUSTUS AND THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS

We have seen in a previous chapter that the portraiture of the last years of the Republic, combined the imitation of the harsh *imagines* modelled over the face of the dead with the psychological expressiveness of later Greek portraiture. Under the accomplished chisel of sculptors trained in Greek methods, masterpieces were produced such as the Roman of the Sala della Biga. Like the other arts, the portraiture that thus arose received further impetus when brought into the service of the Empire and focussed upon the reigning Cæsar and his Court. From that time to the end of the chapter the Emperor was portrayed times innumerable:

> "Imperial portraits were found practically in every inhabited place of the Roman Empire, since they had the political significance which national colours have to-day. Each Emperor had his colossal statue; his statues of rare stones, porphyry, basalt, alabaster; his statue of marble or bronze, his small busts, his pictures. They were found in public buildings of every description, in private houses and even in small and dirty shops. The portrait of the reigning Emperor was on the coinage; the Emperors themselves used their own image much as the moderns use crests or coats of arms on furniture and on utensils; it was on the silver plate of the palace, and in later times it was on the silken garments woven in the Imperial establishments; it appeared on

> the standards, where it has an apotropaic function; it adorned the armour of the higher officers, and was placed on the post-carriages, since these were also Imperial, and on other licensed conveyances; the same is true in a more limited degree of the more prominent members of the Imperial family. . . . The Emperor's image was set up everywhere not only as a likeness of him, as are, for instance, the portraits of modern royalties, but also as a cultus image, when it acquires much the same value as does to a Catholic a statuette of the Madonna" (DELBRUECK).

§ 1. *Character of Imperial Portraiture.*—True, Cæsar and the earlier Emperors deprecated the worship of themselves in Rome, but even they had to allow it in the East, where the worship of the monarch had been implanted from earliest antiquity and revived by Alexander and his successors, who gave a new life to the conception by Hellenizing it. And in Rome itself the image of Augustus, represented as *paredros* of the goddess Roma, as on the Vienna cameo (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 57), acquired the glamour of sanctity. The features of the ruler became so impressed upon his Court and his generation that a family likeness to the reigning Emperor pervades all Imperial portraiture, which readily falls into groups: Augustan, Flavian, Trajanic, Hadrianic and Antonine—precisely as in modern times we divide historical portraits into Tudor or Valois, into Elizabethan or Stuart, into Burgundian or Hapsburg. Again, as in modern times, so also in ancient Rome, fashion—the custom of clean shaving or of wearing the beard in men, the head-dress in women, the manner of folding the drapery—is made to accentuate resemblance. These are points to bear in mind before passing to more technical criteria of date, such as the form or size of the bust, the shape of the plinth, or the style of the workmanship.

§ 2. *Portraiture of Augustus.*—Of the innumerable statues raised to Augustus, only some fifty or sixty accredited instances have survived; of these we need only select for analysis four or five of the more striking. His portrait as the boy Octavian has already been referred to (p. 107). Between this and his later portraiture come two pieces of fairly certain date. The masterpiece of this intervening period is the magnificent head found at Meroe in the Soudan and now in the Bronze Room of the British Museum (Fig. 218). It shows Augustus at the age of about thirty; it is undoubtedly a contemporary portrait, broken from one of the statues of the Emperor in uniform, which were erected in various parts of the Roman Empire. The eyes with glass pupils set in a ring of bronze, the irises of hard black and yellow stone and whites of pale onyx, give reality to the statement of Suetonius, that the Emperor could quell a mutiny by a mere flash of his glance. This particular portrait may well represent Augustus at the time when he was

proclaimed King of Egypt in his own right (30 B.C.). To this period belongs too the Blacas cameo, likewise in the British Museum (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 59). That the Emperor should have worn the royal diadem in Rome is unthinkable, and this alone makes it probable that the cameo recalls his suzerainty in Egypt. A portraitist of the first order, Dioscorides as some have surmised, or another of unknown name, did for Augustus what Apelles and Lysippus had done for Alexander, what in modern times Holbein and Titian, Velasquez and Van Dyck did for the sovereigns they portrayed: created, that is, a likeness of the man which so revealed his inner nature through his features that the result is an almost mystical presentment of the individual. The god-like serenity of Alexander, the jovial majesty of Henry VIII, the tragic countenance of Charles V are all raised to a higher power for having passed through the fire of a great artistic imagination. Even such a portrait is that grandest of all portrait statues, the armoured Augustus in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Fig. 216), found at Livia's villa at Prima Porta. When discovered in 1866 it still bore traces of colouring. The commanding pose; the eloquent gesture; the male beauty of the head, with its strong yet sensitive features; the beautiful hair that so closely and softly enfolds the shapely cranium and then, like that of a boy, parts rebellious over the brow, are all rendered with subtle precision (Fig. 219). So also are the details of the accoutrement: the soft smooth texture of the linen tunic; the supple strength of the leather tabs with their fringes along which the light darts, plays and reappears (as in the fringe of the chair on which Charles V sits in Titian's

FIG. 218.—AUGUSTUS FROM MEROE.
(British Museum.)

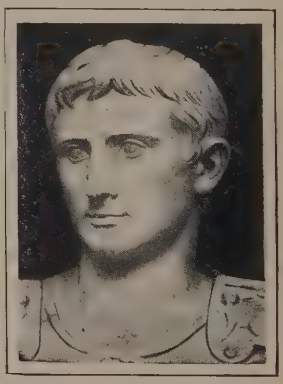

FIG. 219.—HEAD OF AUGUSTUS FROM PRIMA PORTA.
(Vatican.)

portrait at Munich); the metallic quality of the breastplate, on which are wrought in relief the return of the Parthian standards and the subjection of the conquered provinces, while the Lord of Heaven spreads out his mantle as if to enfold and protect the *orbis Romanus* upon which—typical of the blessings of the Augustan age—reclines the gracious *Terra Mater* with her babes.

FIG. 220.—AUGUSTUS FROM VIA LABICANA. (Terme.)

Next in importance are two togate statues. One in the Louvre shows us Augustus at the age of about thirty-five to forty. The face is serious but still youthful; the frame vigorous; the carriage erect; the folds of the toga grand and original, acting with their long unbroken lines as supports of the figure, seeming to be cut up by the *sinus* or the *umbo* (Hekler, 164).

Then, considerably later than the Prima Porta statue, comes the togate portrait found in 1910 on the Via Labicana within the city (Fig. 220), now at the Museo delle Terme. The face is pensive and poetic; the features those of a man whom suffering and thought have mellowed without embittering. From the head (Fig. 221) we may well believe Augustus to have been the friend and patron of Virgil; we might indeed apply to this version of the Emperor what a modern critic has said of the language of Virgil, that "it is veined with a delicate melancholy and wistful reverie upon the abundant travail of life." At the same time, if we compare the face feature for feature with the literary portrait which Suetonius has left us of Augustus, the likeness must have

FIG. 221.—AUGUSTUS FROM VIA LABICANA. (Detail.) (Terme.)

been a speaking one; the hair precisely suggests the silken texture that goes with blond colouring; the nose is aquiline (*eminens*) and from the delicacy of the jaw we may well believe that he suffered from weak teeth. The Emperor seems emaciated, the gait is heavier, less buoyant than in the Prima Porta statue. The shapeliness of the feet shows through the calceus. . . . The picture of the Ara Pacis could not be better completed than by placing the figure of the Augustus from the Via Labicana in front of the altar within the sacred garlanded enclosure.

FIG. 222.—AUGUSTUS.
(Boston.)

The majority of the portraits of Augustus can be recognized by the arrangement of the locks over the forehead, combed straight forward, curling up at the tips, and dividing on the right side near the centre of the forehead, the hair being otherwise kept flat and close to the skull.

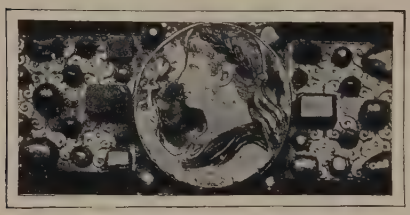

FIG. 223.—CAMEO OF AUGUSTUS.
(Cross of Lothair at Aachen.)

One portrait, however, the head in Boston, differs materially in this respect (Fig. 222). The features are so unmistakably those of Augustus that no doubt can arise as to whom the head represents, yet the hair is raised from skull and forehead and deeply modelled to produce the effect of richly curling locks, a rendering unique in the portraiture of Augustus.

Besides the Blacas cameo in the British Museum, there is another, not much inferior though simpler in execution, enclosed since the Middle Ages in the cross of Lothair, now in the Treasury of the Cathedral of

FIG. 224.—AUGUSTUS (?) CAMEO BY HIEROPHILUS.
(Vienna.)

Aachen (Fig. 223). The fine cameo signed by Hierophilus (Fig. 224) is more likely Augustus than Tiberius. Augustus with a slight down on his cheek also occurs on certain coins and in the bust of the Cook collection at Richmond. Small portrait heads in precious materials have already been referred to. Among the most interesting portraits of Augustus are a small turquoise head in Florence, and the ivory head of him in the Stroganoff Collection (Graeven, 67). A small and exquisitely carved turquoise of Tiberius is in the British Museum.

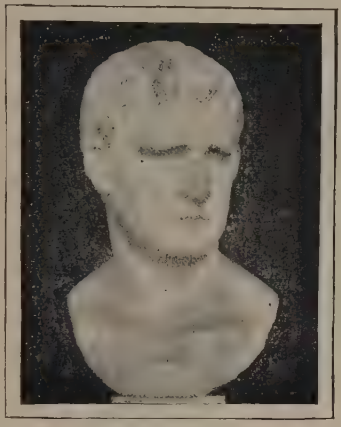

FIG. 225.—AGRIPPA.
(Louvre.)

§ 3. *Portraiture of the Contemporaries of Augustus.*—By the side of Augustus may be placed the admirable bust in the Louvre of the faithful Agrippa (Fig. 225). The deep-set eyes beneath the beetling brows, the powerful jaw, the full though serious mouth offer a marked contrast to the delicate features of Augustus, yet we see at once from the general conception and treatment that the portraits are of the same period and of a man belonging to the same cycle of thought and interest. An imposing bronze head in New York (L.H., Pl. II.) is likewise thought to be Agrippa.

FIG. 226.—VIRGIL BETWEEN TWO MUSES.
(Mosaic in Bardo Museum, Tunis.)

Another portrait of primary significance to be considered by the side of those of Augustus and Agrippa is the original—alas, lost—of the "Virgil

between two Muses," known from the copy in mosaic found in N. Africa (Fig. 226). The face is that of a Roman of the early Empire; the poet sits holding an open volume, in which we read the words *Musa mihi causas. . . .* It would be interesting to be able to identify this mosaic as a copy of the portrait of Virgil which was prefixed to an edition of the *Æneid* which the poet Martial knew of (xiv. 186), but though the composition is admirably suited to book illustration the conjecture can barely be hazarded. The composition is part of a diptych, of which the other half represented the episode of Dido. Of this only a fragment has survived. Other portrait paintings of the period, found in Pompeii, will be mentioned in the next chapter.

FIG. 227.—JULIO-CLAUDIAN PRINCE FROM FORMIA.
(Naples.)

The Romans of the early Empire, perhaps even those of the late Republic, began to follow the example of the Greeks and encouraged the nude heroic statues of great men. Two notable examples are the statue of the Louvre (Hekler, 156*b*), whose identity is still to seek, but which may represent the young Cæsar; and the Agrippa of Venice (Bernoulli, i. pl. xxii). In both a disagreeable effect is produced by adapting an individual portrait to an ideal type, to a Pheidian Hermes in the one case, and to an athletic figure in the other. A more fortunate specimen of this class is a statue recently found at Formia (Fig. 227); the head is evidently that of a Julio-Claudian prince and the features bear some resemblance to those of the young Augustus, though we should hardly be justified in claiming the statue as an actual portrait of him. Another remarkable Augustan statue from the

FIG. 228.—STATUE FROM FORMIA (DETAIL).
(Naples.)

same find is of a Roman with the toga pulled over his head, in act of sacrificing (head, Fig. 228).

§ 4. *Portraiture of Tiberius and the Julio-Claudians.*—The face of Tiberius has physical and intellectual delicacy with a distinction of feature and an aristocratic reserve inherited from his mother Livia, but it lacks the poetic character of the best portraits of Augustus. A fine statue of Tiberius seated (from Piperno) is in the Vatican (Fig. 229) and the best of the heads is possibly the small turquoise in the British Museum, a miracle of gem-cutting (p. 187).

FIG. 229.—TIBERIUS.
(Vatican.)

The same dignified expression characterizes the portraits of his brother Drusus, the hero of the German campaign of B.C. 12–9, portrayed in the statue from the theatre of Cervetri at the Lateran (H.A. 1171): of Germanicus the son of Drusus, in his statue from Gabii in the Louvre; and of the younger Drusus, son of Tiberius, whose striking likeness to his grandmother Livia is well seen in the Naples statue (Hekler, 187). To this date we may assign also a small bronze head in the Museum of Spires identified without reason as Sejanus (Fig. 230). The beautiful head extant in the replicas of the Uffizi (Fig. 231) and of the Capitol (Galleria, B.S.R. I., No. 33) is more likely Caligula than the ill-starred Agrippa Postumus, with whom it has lately been identified. In both heads a striking resemblance may be detected to Caligula's great-grand-

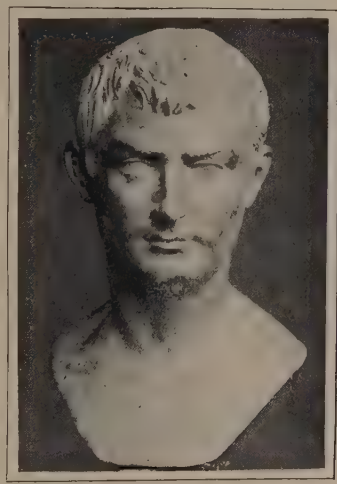

FIG. 230.—SMALL BRONZE BUST.
(Spires.)

father, Augustus and his grandfather Agrippa; we may notice in particular the overhanging brow and the fine nervous lips. These, however, represent him as in extreme youth; but he reigned from the age of twenty-six to twenty-nine, and portraits of him as Emperor seem to have survived in the head, crowned with oak-leaves, at Ny Carlsberg (Hekler, 182*b*), and the small bronze bust supported on a globe in the Museum of Colchester (Fig. 232). From Suffolk comes the fine head of a Julio-Claudian prince (Fig. 233), recently identified as Claudius, whose portraits, however, it does not resemble. In the portraits of Claudius, truth to nature and psychological insight combine to produce the sense of a quiet, almost humorous, temperament, though in certain of his portraits the sensitiveness of the race tends to deteriorate into fussiness and worry. In the best of his portraiture, however—the head at Brunswick, or the cameo at Windsor (Fig. 234)—the expression, though lacking the poetic and intellectual quality of that of Augustus, is that of a man cautious, intelligent and perhaps somewhat matter of fact, such as we may suppose the Emperor to have been who planned the Roman aqueducts, who carried out the conquest of Britain, and effected its settlement, and who devoted his leisure to writing a history of the ancient Etruscans. On the famous cameo of the Cornucopiæ at Vienna (Fig. 235) the two Imperial couples, Claudius with the younger Agrippina, and his brother Germanicus with the elder Agrippina, are represented as the sources of fertility

FIG. 231.—HEAD OF CALIGULA.
(Florence.)

FIG. 232.—SMALL BRONZE BUST (CALIGULA?).
(Colchester.)

and abundance, and the same conception inspires the design on the silver *patera* from Aquileia—now in Vienna—where the *Terra Mater* is shown welcoming the blessings of the Imperial rule (Vol. II., p. 37). This tendency to identify the Emperor with a divine power culminates in the colossal statue of Claudius as Jupiter in the Rotonda of the Vatican (Fig. 217). That

FIG. 233.—JULIO-CLAUDIAN HEAD. BRONZE.
(Private Collection.)

FIG. 234.—CAMEO OF CLAUDIUS.
(H.M. Collection, Windsor.)

the Apotheosis of Claudius was invested with great pomp and ceremony seems attested by the malignant sneers of Seneca, for no satirist wastes his powder and shot on what is obscure or unimportant. The event was probably made the occasion for issuing portraits of the *Divus;* among these we may almost certainly reckon a bust discovered in the *Sacrarium* or shrine of the *Gens Julia* at Bovillæ. It found its way to the Escorial, but unfortunately disappeared, though the pedestal supported by an eagle with outstretched wings may still be seen at the Prado.

§ 5. *Imperial Portrait Groups.*—Family groups of Imperial personages were not uncommon. One example is afforded by the relief at Ravenna (Fig. 187), interpreted as Augustus and Livia (or is it Venus Genitrix?), accompanied by two Julio-

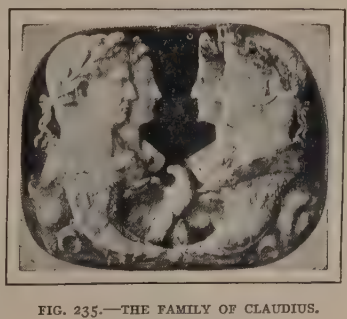

FIG. 235.—THE FAMILY OF CLAUDIUS.
(Cameo in Vienna.)

Claudian princes with Roma seated on the left. This peculiarly interesting relief very probably adorned the base of an Imperial statue, or more probably group of statues. We have already referred to the group of Julio-Claudian statues at the Lateran, representing Claudius surrounded by the princes and princesses of his House, from the theatre at Cervetri, and to that from Formiæ. Interesting statues, over life-size, of Augustus and Tiberius were recently found at Venafro and are now in Naples. In the Macellum of Pompei, erected in the Principate of Claudius, a little chapel apparently held statues of different members of the Imperial family, with Claudius himself in the centre, holding the symbolic globe. At Corinth a notable series of full-length Imperial portraits has been found, including the Emperor himself with his two grandsons, Lucius and Gaius. Another series existed at Olympia, among which was a peculiarly beautiful Agrippina (*Sc. R.*, Fig. 214).

FIG. 236.—JULIO-CLAUDIAN EMPEROR. (Terme.)

§ 6. *Portraiture of Nero.*—In Nero, who was the son of the second Agrippina, the grandson of Germanicus and the elder Agrippina and the great-nephew of Claudius, Julio-Claudian portraiture found another subject worthy of its power. In the simplest version of his portrait, the head in the Terme (Hekler, 183), the likeness to the Claudian branch of his family is obvious in the shape of brow and eyes and in the curves of the mouth. In the basalt bust of the Uffizi (Fig. 212) the likeness is subordinated to the attempt to give to the head the exalted expression of Alexander. We hear also of his ordering a portrait of himself to be painted (Vol. II., p. 29). It was 120 feet high and was set up in the Palace of the Licinian Gardens and afterwards injured or destroyed by lightning. Nero was a Julio-Claudian, it must be remembered, on his mother's side alone, and his strong facial characteristics cannot be entirely understood so long as we know nothing of the portraiture of his paternal ancestors, the Domitii. It may be worth considering whether the wonderful head in the Terme, with the wild eyes, long named Caligula and recently published as Claudius, may not more probably be Nero (Fig. 236).

§ 7. *Portraiture of the Contemporaries of the Julio-Claudians.*—Among busts of non-Imperial personages of the Julio-Claudian period, we may note the portrait extant in several versions (Capitol, Louvre, etc.) of Cn. Domitius Corbulo, the victorious but ill-starred general of Nero, and the father of the Empress Domitia (Hekler, 199*a* and *b*). Another typical portrait of the epoch is that of the banker L. Cæcilius Jucundus (Naples), which, in its physical realism—rendering of wrinkles, furrows and even warts—recalls the portraiture of the Italian Quattrocento (Fig. 237). Among bronzes, one of the very finest is the equestrian fragment from Herculaneum in Naples (L. H. pl. xxiv) belonging to a type of statue that had been too much neglected.

FIG. 237.—THE BANKER, L. CÆCILIUS JUCUNDUS.
(Naples.)

§ 8. *Portraiture of Women.*—The Romans of the Augustan age excelled in the portraiture of women. First and foremost come the portraits of the life-long companion of Augustus, his devoted and intelligent wife the Empress Livia. Her early portraiture as a young woman is as yet unknown. The best authenticated of the later portraits is at Ny Carlsberg (Fig. 238). It gives her the coiffure with elaborate side-ringlets and broad bandeau puffed out *a la grecque* which the ladies of the Imperial family adopted to flatter the taste of the Emperor for the archaic, though the Empress must have been nearing seventy when this fashion appeared. The artist had the good taste not to represent Livia as young, which would have been ridiculous, but limits himself to essential traits without definitely marking her age; it is a portrait such as descendants would be proud of. It is evident, however, that the Romans—outside the Imperial circles at any rate—did not always "idealize their grandmothers." For example, the head of a masculine old

FIG. 238.—THE EMPRESS LIVIA.
(Ny Carlsberg.)

FIG. 239.—JULIO-CLAUDIAN LADY.
(Ny Carlsberg.)

lady at Ny Carlsberg is represented with an uncompromising realism worthy of Dürer or of Rembrandt, though without any of their tenderness for old age (Hekler, 201). A statue wearing a diadem, at Oxford, and a fragment of a head at Petrograd have lately been identified as Livia. A head at Ny Carlsberg, sometimes called Agrippina (Fig. 239), combines high-bred distinction with more emotion than is usual at this time. The eyes seem suffused with tears; the mouth with its turned-down corners is tremulous with some hidden pain; the pose of the head is pleading and pathetic; the pure brow is framed by beautiful waves of hair, twisted at each side into long spiral curls drawn back and tied into a knot at the nape.

An authentic portrait of the splendid and haughty Agrippina the Elder survives in the head of root of emerald (Fig. 240) in the British Museum. The hard pupils, thin lips, short but firm jaw, and powerful cranium, accentuated by the coiffure with puffed-out bandeaux then coming into fashion, agree with the effigy on the coins. A similar style of hairdressing is seen on the cameo of Antonia, also in the British Museum (Fig. 241).

About this type of portrait we may group further two fine heads in the Capitol collection, respectively called the Elder and the Younger Agrippina and the celebrated Ludovisi head of an Imperial lady as Juno (H.A. 1305). Also in the Capitol collection is a head of slightly later date, as shown by the coiffure, that long passed for Messalina, the wife of Claudius, an identification which though unproved represents the approximate date. A fine

FIG. 240.—THE ELDER AGRIPPINA. ROOT OF EMERALD.
(British Museum.)

and expressive head of the same period is in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Fig. 242). It is of a woman of about thirty, with thin long face and sombre expression; modelling and drawing are alike excellent. A bust found in the tomb where was buried the fourteen-year-old Minatia Polla, and which may therefore be that of the girl herself; another of similar character in the Museum of Naples (Hekler, 210), are good instances of the portraiture of young girls. Another instance is the charming statue from Ostia—now in the Terme—of a girl represented as Artemis (Fig. 243).

FIG. 241.—ANTONIA.
(Cameo in British Museum.)

§ 9. *Portraiture of Children.*—Not less exquisite than the portraiture of women was that of children, which acquired a fresh importance from the demand for effigies of the Imperial family. The children on the Ara Pacis have already afforded us examples of the

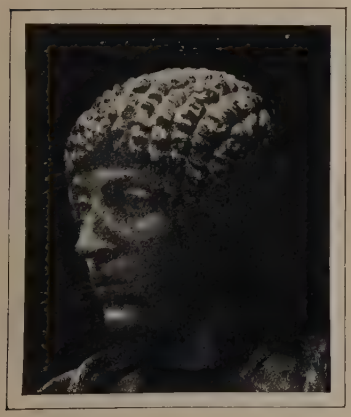

FIG. 242.—JULIO-CLAUDIAN LADY.
(Vatican.)

FIG. 243.—ROMAN GIRL AS ARTEMIS, FROM OSTIA.
(Terme.)

Roman conception of well-bred and well-behaved childhood. The little Cupid riding a dolphin, at the side of the Augustus from Prima Porta, obviously a portrait—perhaps of the little Lucius Cæsar—is the work of an artist sympathetic to the moods of childhood. It shows us a real baby; the *espieglerie* of the sunny little face is as admirably rendered as are the folds of the fat firm flesh that breaks into dimples, for the child is evidently enjoying his ride and, being a Cupid, sits his dolphin as proudly as a mortal baby his pony or his rocking-horse, while the laughing eyes are raised in shy trust towards the tall military figure at his side (Fig. 244). Then we have the wonderful head in the Museo Barracco, also found at Prima Porta, that represents a little patrician alert and high-bred, with well-drawn expressive features and delicious hair (*Sc. Rom.*, Figs. 215, 216). If the child on the dolphin be Lucius Cæsar, this might equally well be the portrait of his brother Gaius, the latest born of Germanicus and Agrippina. A portrait of the child had been dedicated by Livia in the temple of Venus on the Capitol. A copy of it stood in the bedroom of Augustus, who used to kiss it whenever he went into the room, and it may well be that we have another copy here made for the Villa of the Empress. The superb bronze in the Wyndham-Cook collection (Fig. 245), exhibited in 1903 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and the fine basalt head—once in the Robinson collection and now in New York—of a lad of twelve to fourteen years are also

FIG. 244.—HEAD OF BABY FROM THE AUGUSTUS OF PRIMA PORTA.

FIG. 245.—BRONZE HEAD OF BOY.
(Formerly in Wyndham Cook Collection.)

noteworthy (Fig. 246). Moreover, it appears to be a replica of the head at Geneva which has recently been claimed as possibly a portrait of Gaius Cæsar. We likewise have an occasional attempt at portraying the pathetic and suffering child, like the head of a boy in Berlin so long misnamed Marcellus. Illness was admitted as a legitimate subject of art, as in the head of the sick baby in Munich, with the droop of the little suffering mouth, the large eyes, the protruding enlarged forehead (Hekler, 216). In fact, as a scholar has recently remarked, sickly children are extremely common in Roman portraiture (Poulsen, p. 55, with examples). So also Holbein, sanest of artists, in the altarpieces of Darmstadt and of Dresden, pictured a sick and suffering child nestling for comfort against the august Mother.

FIG. 246.—BASALT HEAD OF BOY
(New York.)

§ 10. *Family Portraits.*—In the family portrait groups of father, mother and child, so common in sepulchral *stelæ*, the main types of Roman portraiture are seen in conjunction. One of the best of the Augustan period is in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican (Fig. 247); it so fascinated an unknown artist of the Renascence that he copied it for a monument in the little church of Sant'Omobono in Rome. The child pathetically stands between his parents and unites them both. Another in the Galleria Chiaramonti (Hekler, 134), though likewise of

FIG. 247.—FAMILY GROUP ON TOMBSTONE.
(Vatican.)

Augustan date, retains traces of the death-masks which are here translated roughly into stone—the boy between them, possibly because he died first, is represented by his bust or *imago* (cf. above, p. 104). Good examples have found their way to private collections: *e.g.* a man between two women, at Ince (Poulsen, p. 40) another in the same collection with five personages (Poulsen, p. 41)—one of whom, a young girl, holds a bird as symbol of the soul—each with the flower of resurrection. This art persists through all naturalism and illusionism; it reasserts itself in the third century and developes gradually into the magnificent portraiture of Diocletian, Constantine and their successors, which marks the highest level of the art in antiquity.

FIG. 248.—STATUE FROM A TOMB.
(Capitoline Museum.)

In the Capitoline Museum, the mourning figure of a seated woman clothed in a long tunic and pallium (Fig. 248), is interesting as showing the combination of a portrait head—distinctly Augustan in character—with a body adapted from a Greek model of the 4th century B.C. (*B. S. R.*, I, Pl. 20, 42).

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